HISTORY

OF THE

CITY OF MADRAS

Written for the Tercentenary Celebration Committee, 1939

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

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MADRAS.

FOREWORD

WHEN the Madras Tercentenary Celebration Committee decided to publish, in addition to the Commemoration Volume, a popular handbook of the history of the city, it felt that the most suitable person to undertake the work was Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachariar, who has devoted many years to the study of the subject. Prof. Srinivasachariar has brought to bear on his task unremitting industry and wide scholarship. He has traced the history of Madras from its earliest beginnings right down to the present day and has dealt with every aspect of the life and growth of the city.

I hope that this handbook will reach a wide circle of readers, particularly among the younger generation, so that its study might stimulate them to take a living and active interest in the welfare of the city and its future development. While there is much in the heritage of Madras to be thankful for, there is need for continual effort on the part of its enlightened citizens to advance still further the standards of civic life and to make the city more and more a pleasant and beautiful place to live in.

The Committee is deeply grateful to the author for having, in compliance with its request, written this extremely attractive and interesting handbook.

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS,
CHEPAUK, MADRAS,
4th August 1939.

S. E. RUNGANADHAN,
PRESIDENT,
Madras Tercentenary Celebration Committee.

PREFATORY NOTE

THE history of Madras should be a very attractive theme for every citizen of the city and for every intensive student of South Indian History. It has been a very appropriate idea that a history of Madras bringing its growth up-to-date should have suggested itself to and been readily taken up by the Madras Tercentenary Celebration Committee. The author to whom the privilege was generously given by the Working Committee to write this history, begs to convey his grateful thanks to the Committee and its honoured President, Diwan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras. His thanks are also due to Sri V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar of the Department of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras, and Honorary Secretary of the Publication Committee of the Madras Tercentenary Celebration Committee, for his ready and willing co-operation in the preparation of the book. Mr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A. has very kindly prepared the index for this book and has laid the author under obligation to him. He should also thank Messrs. P. Varadachary and Co. for their generous offer to publish it on behalf of the Tercentenary Committee. The author solicits from the reader an indulgence that may forgive him for small errors of print and other defects that may have crept into the book which had to be got ready at short notice.

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY,
ANNAMALAINAGAR,
17th July, 1939. — C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

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INTRODUCTORY

I

THE History of Madras as a city is only of a life of three centuries of growth; but the great past and the historic significance of the surrounding region and the importance to which some of its parts like Triplicane and Mylapore and suburbs like Tiruvottiyur and Pallavaram attained in the past, are certainly striking. There has also been obtained in the vicinity of Madras a rich store of pre-historic remains and objects of archæological and architectural interest which make the land consequently one of considerable interest to the student of history and anthropology. The present extensive city of Madras itself may be said to have existed in the shape of separate scattered villages for centuries before the coming of the English. The city extends for a length of 9 miles along the coast, with a breadth of about 3 miles and covers an area of about 30 square miles, lying between 13.4 degrees north latitude and 80.17 degrees east longitude, "on a sandy, shelving, breaker-swept beach" and is almost in the same latitude as Bangalore and Mangalore. The land on which the city is built forms a level of post-tertiary formation, not very much above the sea level; the eastern part is built on a dune stretching along the coast, with a parallel trough on the west traversed by Cochrane's Canal, formerly known as the North River, along it, while the Cooum River which winds through the heart of the city divides it into two more or less equal parts. On the south there is the Adyar River which is, in a larger measure than the Cooum, the drainage of the hilly area south-west of Madras and forms its southern boundary. Both the Cooum and the Adyar Rivers have formations of sand-bars at their mouths due to the action of the surf-driven sand running north, which is a characteristic feature of the Bay coast in this part.

The Buckingham Canal traverses the city in its entire length, north to south; it flows along the line of the old North River and then continues on, through a lock near the mouth of the Cooum, right through the southern portion of the city till it reaches the Adyar from across which it again proceeds south. A large number of tanks which formerly irrigated cultivated fields, are even now to be seen, either half-silted or fully filled up, in several parts of the city. Madras is honey-combed with hundreds of small tanks which afford ideal breeding-grounds of malaria germs. A great many of these serve now no useful purpose; but the filling of them is very difficult and costly and has but proceeded very slowly. The larger tanks like the Vyasarpady Tank, the Spur Tank and the Nungambakam and Long Tanks have now silted up and have been built over in parts. These contribute to the large proportion of low-lying places filled with water during the rainy part of the year and dry during the remaining months.

The Cooum River is one of the most prominent features of the city. It is crossed by numerous bridges in its winding course. The most prominent of these bridges and one near the sea, is the Willingdon or St. George's Bridge over which the Mount Road runs from the Fort across the Island to St. Thomas' Mount. At its mouth near the bar it is spanned by the Iron Bridge connecting the Marina with the South Beach Road.

The Adyar is crossed near the southern end of San Thomé by the Elphinstone Bridge which was built during the Governorship of Lord Elphinstone (1837-42) and by the famous Marmalong Bridge near Saidapet which existed even before 1726 when it was rebuilt by an Armenian merchant, Peter Uscan. The North River, *i.e.*, the present Cochrane's Canal, is crossed by the Basin Bridge, the Elephant Gate Bridge, the General Hospital Bridge and the Wallajah Bridge, the last leading from the Wallajah Gate of the Fort to the Island and built in 1756 after the river had been diverted to its present more westerly channel. The Buckingham Canal in its course in

the south of the city is crossed by several bridges of which the most important is the so-called Barber's Bridge. Some of these bridges have inscriptions, giving their names and dates of construction, engraved on them.

Another attractive feature of the city is the series of stone-faced tanks which are maintained by the side of the important Hindu temples and of which the beautiful Kapaliswar Tank equipped with a fine flight of stone-steps on all sides and a *mantapam* in the middle in Mylapore, is the most beautiful.

The Cooum River has been presenting a problem of great difficulty owing to its having become narrowed and silted up in the course of its channel and sand-barred at its mouth. The Buckingham Canal and this river emit an evil odour, especially in the hot season when the water level is very low. Some years ago a scheme was tried for pumping sea water into the river and thus enabling its level to rise and the volume of its flow to become large enough to burst the bar at the mouth whereby the sea water could rush in and carry back the dirty water of the channel. The Adyar presents very much the same appearance as the Cooum and has formed lagoons at its mouth. The 'Quibble Island' thus formed at its mouth, is a large marshy area. It is not, as has been remarked, a 'quibble' to call it an island.

Grass grows for the greater part of the year in the open spaces. It is generally rough and has long roots. Within the city itself, particularly in the more sparsely-peopled suburbs, there are numerous groves of cocoanut trees which thrive well on the soil and from most of which toddy is extracted; while on the sea side towards the northern and southern ends, the eye encounters numerous stretches of casuarina plantations. Along most of the larger roads, shady trees such as the thick-leaved banyan, the rain-tree and the yellow-flowered portia tree, have been planted and are a great convenience to wayfarers, besides adding to the beauty of the roads themselves.

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it becomes gravelly. The beach is sandy and the banks of the Cooum and Adyar Rivers are saline and swampy. In the surrounding parts, even the slopes of the hills have been denuded of trees and shrubs and have become bare earth and rock.

From about the beginning of December to the beginning of March, Madras enjoys what approximates to cold weather. The months of March, April, May and June form the hot weather season. It is in the latter part of this period that the monsoon brings to Madras the cool southerly wind that is so much of a comfort to us, besides a few occasional showers. The first or south-west monsoon lasts for about three months from the end of June, though Madras does not derive much of rainfall from this. From about the middle of September the wind changes in direction and it begins to blow from the north-east across the Bay. This return monsoon gives a comparatively large amount of rain-fall all along the coast during the months of October and November. This rainfall is precious and is useful for filling up the tanks and lakes with which the country abounds, particularly the Red Hills reservoir which is the source of the city's water supply.

The heat of the hot months does not approach that of Northern India, being mitigated by the cool winds of the sea, while the cooler months are never really cold. The annual rainfall is over 40 inches of which the greater portion is given during the period of the north-east monsoon. Madras, like other places on the coast in this part of the Bay, is liable to severe cyclones and storms, especially during the squalls of the monsoon winds. There have been very many violent cyclones recorded in the history of the city. In the days prior to the construction of the harbour, the shipping in the unprotected roadstead was frequently and violently injured by these.

The chief vernacular of the city is Tamil which is spoken by three times as many people as any other language. Next comes Telugu which is the language of more than a fifth of the population. Among the more numerous castes may be mentioned the

Vellalas, the Vanniyas, the Balijas, the Weavers, the Vaniyars and the Adi-Dravidas. Brahmans form a larger percentage of the total population than elsewhere. There is a sprinkling of foreign races, like Burmans, Persians and Europeans other than British. Naturally, a very small percentage of the people are connected with agriculture which is a perfect contrast to the condition of the rest of the Presidency. The number of people earning their livelihood from Government service, personal and domestic service, the supply of food and drink, trade and the learned and artistic professions, is very large. The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, the Harbour works, the M. & S. M. Railway Workshops near Perambur and smaller industrial concerns, take in a very large number of manual workers, besides a good proportion of skilled artisans.

The city was free from plague till 1905 when a few cases were discovered. Subsequently, it has remained comparatively immune. Cholera is frequently imported from outside. Malignant fevers like the kala-azar, enteric, etc., are periodically reported to be prevalent. The Corporation Health Department has been undertaking preventive and remedial measures for the overcoming and mitigation of these diseases and epidemics.

Literacy is higher in the city than in the mofussil parts of the Presidency; and according to the census of 1921, nearly 200 males per 1,000 were literate and among females over 260. Madras, however, ranks in point of female literacy only after the town of Mangalore. English literacy is greater in the case of the Hindus and the Christians than in the other sections of the population.

II

Fort St. George is the centre from which the city has expanded towards the north, the south and the west. It has got three principal gate-ways now open to the public. There is the Sea-Gate to the east leading to the Beach Road which runs from the north-eastern corner of George Town down to the Cooum mouth and then taking in the Marina, continues on to

San Thomé. The other two gates are on the western front of the Fort and open respectively into the Mount Road and the Poonamallee and the Esplanade-Broadway Roads. These three roads may be regarded as the axial highways of the city dividing it into four big areas. The Mount Road and the Poonamallee Road were military in their origin and originally built for the transport of troops to the cantonments of St. Thomas' Mount and Poonamallee. From the Mount Road beyond the Cooum branches the Wallajah Road from which leads the Triplicane High Road which was originally an important means of communication between Madras and San Thomé. To the east of this last road, lie the suburbs of Chepauk, Triplicane, Krishnampet and San Thomé. Between this road and the Mount Road, leading on to the south-west, there lies what was known in the 18th century as the Great Choultry Plain which was an open expanse stretching as far as Mylapore and the Long Tank and including within it the suburbs of Pudupak, Royapet, Pudupet and Teynampet. About the middle of the 18th century, garden-houses, *i.e.*, "bungalows with wide verandahs situated in extensive compounds," came to be built by the European residents of the settlement, who no longer cared to live in the crowded tenements within the Fort. Between Mount Road and Poonamallee Road lie the villages of Egmore and Chetput on the west, Nungambakam and part of Pudupet. The Cooum-encircled suburb of Chintadripettah is in the eastern angle of these two roads. To the north of the Poonamallee Road lie George Town, the People's Park, Periamet, Vepery, Purasawalkam and Kilpauk; and to the north-west are the crowded Choolai and the less crowded Perambur between which has grown up the mill area. George Town is separated from the Fort by its encircling Esplanade ground and has an indented outline on its south-eastern side, having been shorn of part of its crowded streets and houses to provide for a firing ground all round the fort walls. It extends in an unbroken stretch northwards up to the limits of the old north

wall of Black Town and westwards up to Cochrane's Canal. Its northern and western limits are roughly indicated at present by the railway line from the Central Railway Station to Basin Bridge and the cross line west to east from Basin Bridge to Royapuram. The northern suburbs of Washermanpet and Royapuram which lie immediately to the north of George Town, and the more outlying Tondiarpet and Korukkupet bring the northern limits of the city almost up to the ancient temple town of Tiruvottiyur. The railway line running north forms the western limit, on a rough plan, of these northern parts. Expansion has been taking place in the shape of the growth of new residential quarters in the sparsely-peopled areas of Nungambakam by the side of the Long Tank and to the west of the Mount Road across that Tank into the village of Mambalam.

Recently, the Municipality has been extended so as to include the last mentioned area and its limits now go up to the South Indian Railway line near Saidapet.

III

Madras can claim to be one of the most important regions from the point of view of finds of prehistoric relics. In its neighbourhood stone implements of the paleolithic age have been found, thus indicating it as the abode of paleolithic man. A survey of the prehistoric remains of the region on a regular basis still remains to be effectively carried out. But sporadic efforts have been made in this direction from 1863 when Mr. R. Bruce Foote who was the pioneer of such studies in the country, began his survey. He was followed in field-work by Messrs. King, Rea, Richards, Cammiade and others; and the result is that much material has been accumulated and the last decade has witnessed some effort at a scientific study of their finds and an accurate analysis of the paleolithic centres in the region. The Chingleput district has been always rich in prehistoric remains and has been regarded as a "veritable field-

museum of pre-historic archæology." With the advantage of the collections made by Foote, Rea and other pioneers, the finds accumulated have been arranged in the pre-historic galleries of the Madras Museum and scientifically described.

It is surmised that in pre-historic times there was a mighty river flowing through a large valley in the region to the north-west of the city where the Kortalaiyar now flows; and its memory is preserved in popular tradition under the name of Vriddha Kshiranadhi; and in this valley, pre-historic man of the paleolitic and neolithic ages might have flourished. There are also in the Alicoor hills, near Gudem in that valley, a few cave-like rock shelters of primitive man of which mention has been made by Foote. Neolithic sites and artefacts have not been discovered in any abundance in the area round Madras; but the sarcophagi tombs at Pallavaram, marked by plain and unornamented pottery, have led to the conclusion that these graves were possibly of the neolithic age. Sepulchral monuments have been found in localities near Perumbair and Pallavaram; and a pre-historic cemetery site is said to exist in Kilpauk itself, in which both the oblong and urn types of sarcophagi have been found, the pottery finds themselves bearing a close resemblance to the Adichchanallur pottery. The age of these cemetery finds has been supposed to be the iron age. In the earthenware tombs of Pallavaram implements of stone or metal are absent. Relics similar to those found at Pallavaram have been discovered at Periyanattam near Chingleput; and near Sathiavedu, at some distance to the north-west of Madras, are many stone-circles containing cistvaens. Other finds have been unearthed at Guduvanjeri, St. Thomas' Mount and Puttur near the Red Hills. In ancient Tamil literature which is held to go back to the early centuries of the Christian era, we read of urn burials as a living custom; and the megalithic tombs of this region should be ascribed most likely to a much earlier age. One recent writer on the subject of prehistoric man round Madras has prophesied that "Madras may

easily become the Mecca of Indian Prehistorians and M. Camille Jullian may come to say, as he said of Les Eyzies in France,

> "Tout Indien qui a le culte de ses ancétres,
> tout homme qui a le respectueux souvenir du
> passe' doit faire le pélerinage de Madras."

Coming down from the pre-historic ages to historical times, we find that a few of the suburbs of the city of Madras and several villages in its vicinity had once been centres of culture and of religion. The village of Triplicane, now an integral part of the city, has an ancient temple which definitely dates from about the middle of the eighth century and has been sung of by two of the Vaishnava Alwars, while additions were made to the temple by an important Pallava king, Nandivarman Pallavamalla, a powerful ruler of Kanchi of the eighth century and a contemporary of Tirumangai Alwar. His son, Dantivarman, is associated with the earliest stone records found in the temple, which is an important one among the one hundred and eight traditionally sacred shrines dedicated to Vishnu in the Tamil country.

Mylapore was closely associated with the Portuguese town of San Thomé in the 16th and 17th centuries. Its antiquity goes back to the centuries before and immediately after Christ; and its importance has been noticed by the classical Graeco-Roman geographers of those days. Its flourishing temple of Sri Kapaliswara is also of great antiquity; and the place is said to have been a centre of both Jaina and Saiva religious activity. We read that there was in the town an early Jaina temple dedicated to the Tirthankara Neminatha, which was later on swallowed up by the encroaching sea. The famous Tamil Saint, Tiruvalluvar, the author of the 'Sacred Kuraḷ' is also said to have lived in Mylapore. Recently, some vestiges of a Jaina image were discovered in the vicinity of San Thomé, The shrine of Sri Kapaliswara was originally situated close by the sea and is said to have been later shifted to its present site, a little distance from the shore, owing to the encroachment of the ocean. It was in former times sacred to the Vira Saivas;

while the famous Saiva Samayacharya, Tirugnanasambanda, ascribed to the seventh century A.D., visited the place and performed one of his wonderful miracles there, by restoring to life and body a dead girl whose cremated bones alone were preserved. Mylapore served as a port of the Pallava kingdom of Kanchi; and one of the Pallava monarchs, Nandivarman III, is described as the *Mallaivéndan,* i.e., the king of Mallai or Mamallapuram, which was the principal sea-port of the kingdom and *Mayilaikkāvalan,* i.e., the protector and guardian of Mylapore.

Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram) itself and the neighbouring well-known shrine of Tirukkaḻukkunram (otherwise known as Pakshithirtham) were great centres of culture and religious revival in the Pallava age. Pakshithirtham is well-known for its shrine of God Vedagiriswara and for the hill which is the most prominent landmark in the neighbourhood; and it has four summit-mounts, which are scared respectively to the four Vedas that are supposed to be embodied in them. The temple on the hill near which the sacred kites are fed daily at noon, goes back to the Pallava times. The temple at the foot of the hill is known as the Mūvar Koil, *i.e.*, the shrine of the Three Cardinal Saiva Saints, Appar, Sundara and Sambanda, all of them of the seventh century; and the tradition is that they did not dare to go up the sacred hill lest they should pollute it with the touch of their feet. Mamallapuram, popularly known as Mahabalipuram and Mavalivaram and as the Seven Pagodas to the Europeans, was named after the Pallava king, Mahāmalla Narasimhavarman, a powerful ruler of Kanchi in the seventh century A.D., who probably built or enlarged it. It was the birth-place of Bhūtattāḻwar one of the early Vaishnava saints, and its still flourishing Vaishnava shrine was praised in song by Tirumangai Alwar. The place must have been famous even before the time of the Pallavas. The monuments for which it is now noted fall into three classes:—(1) Monolithic rock-cut shrines popularly known as *rathas;* (2) caves excavated out of the rock on hill sides and

ornamented with pillars and sculptured panels; and (3) structural buildings and temples. The *rathas* are the most interesting of the monuments and are called after the Pandava Brothers and their wife Draupadi; but originally they were intended to be shrines dedicated to Siva. They are the earliest examples of the monolithic structures carved out of single stone-boulders which are available in South India. The caves are interesting, particularly the Varaha Cave dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Vishnu. It contains the sculptured figures of two Pallava kings along with those of their queens. A large sculpture on the face of a rock at the place has excited much interest among scholars and is said to represent either Arjuna's penance before Siva or the descent of the Ganges. Of the ruined stone-temples at the place—there were probably more of them,—there is now only one survival, *viz.,* the shore temple with its double *vimana.* The place was possibly visited by Hiuen Tsang, the famous Chinese traveller of the seventh century, who mentions it as the port of Kanchi which he describes as a great city with a large number of Buddhist monks living therein.

Going farther into the interior, we have got Conjeevaram which is one of the seven sacred shrines of India and has got a venerable antiquity. It was the capital of the Pallava kings who were very powerful in this portion of Southern India for a number of centuries from about the 3rd century A.D. It is also known as the City of Temples, there being as many as 108 Saiva and 18 Vaishnava shrines comprehended in it. It has been traditionally divided into three main parts, *viz.,* Little Conjeevaram (Vishnu Kanchi), Big Conjeevaram (Siva Kanchi) and Pillai Palayam (Jina Kanchi), which is now a large weaving centre. The Pagoda of Sri Varadarajaswami in Vishnu Kanchi has been rendered illustrious by its association with the great Ramanuja, one of the important teachers of Vaishnavism and by the munificent gifts bestowed upon it by the Vijayanagar Rayas. Its annual festival falling in the month of Vaikasi attracts thousands of pilgrims, particularly

the Garudotsavam. The temple of Sri Kamakshi and the shrine of Ekambareswarar are sacred to Saivas; and the former is associated with a miracle performed therein by Sri Sankaracharya. The Kailasanathaswami shrine, situated at a short distance from the outskirts of the town, is one of the oldest stone-temples of South India and represents a style of temple-building which is unlike that followed in most South Indian temples. This shrine and the Vaikuntaperumal temple are both of Pallava times and represent the earliest style of stone-temple architecture in South India. Near Kanchi to the west is the village of Tirupparutthikunram, which is the relic of an once famous Jaina centre and has now got an interesting Jaina temple dedicated to Mahavira, the last Tirthankara. Conjeevaram was noted in ancient times as a centre of higher learning, both Brahmanical, Bauddha and Jaina. Its broad streets, natural facilities for drainage and extensive lie have made it one of the healthiest and best constructed cities and won for it the admiration of Professor Patrick Geddes.

From Conjeevaram we can pass on to Sriperumbūdur, situated about 30 miles to the south-west of Madras; it contains an ancient Vishnu shrine and is most famous as the birthplace of Saint Ramanuja, the Sri Vaishnava teacher. The hill shrine of Thirunirmalai to the west of Pallavaram, contains some rare bronzes and has been sung of by the early Alwars. Kuṇṇattur near the latter place is also famous as being the birth place of Sĕkkiḻar, the author of the 'Lives of the Tamil Saiva Saints' (Periyapuranam); and he is said to have built a temple here, about the beginning of the twelfth century. The village of Mangadu, west of Saidapet and close to Kuṇṇattur, contains a temple of the Pallava age with Pallava inscriptions engraved on the walls of its inner sanctum. Pallavaram or Pallavapuram, adjacent to St. Thomas' Mount, is now the seat of the Madras Wireless Installation and the Aerial Club and Aerodrome and has been famous as a sanatorium and a regimental station; but it is best known historically because the great Pallava king, Mahendra Varman, of the early seventh century,

had a cave shrine excavated on the slope of its hill and had his *birudas* engraved in bold letters on its façade. This temple is the most ancient of the historic antiquities of the Madras region. It is now used as a mosque by the Muhammadans of the locality. Situated close by old Pallavapuram and now attached to Pallavaram is the village of Tirusūlam whose Siva temple dates back to Chola times and contains inscriptions of the 11th century. Near Poonamallee is situated Tirumalishai sacred to the Vaishnava Alwar of that name; while Tiruvanmiyur to the south of Madras and Tiruvottiyur to the north, take us back to the revivalist days of the Saiva Nayanmars. The Tiruvanmiyur temple might be said to definitely belong to the Chola period; it contains some Chola epigraphs and is marked by the architectural features of the Chola age. It is the parent source of the Sri Kandaswami Temple in the city. The Siva shrine of Tiruvottiyur goes back to an age probably even earlier than the eighth century and is associated with the great Advaita Philosopher Sankaracharya who put an end to the barbarous custom of human sacrifices offered to the Goddess. The shrine is also closely connected with Saint Gnanasambanda and was equipped with a college well endowed for higher Vedic studies in the Chola times—as many temples of those days were. The well-known Saint, Pattinathar, attained salvation in this village. A Tamil mutt of some fame was attached to this temple even as early as the ninth century.

The historical and cultural importance of the neighbourhood of Madras is a continuous one and did not disappear with the disappearance of Hindu dominion on South India. As one of the principal fields of European commercial enterprise on the east coast and the seat of the revived Christianity of the Portuguese colony of San Thomé, the neighbourhood of Madras has been quite famous even in the succeeding centuries. San Thomé was noted as a centre of primitive Christianity which had been planted on the coast even in the early centuries of the Christian era, if not by Saint Thomas hiself, at least before the third century. Old San Thomé and Mylapore are

identifiable with the port of Malliarpha which is described by the Graeco-Roman geographer Ptolemy (of the second century A.D.) as an important place on the east coast of South India. The identity of Malliarpha with Mylapore is now regarded as being beyond the pale of doubt; and the word has been deemed to contain the two essential ingredients of the name of Mylapore. The site of San Thomé has been associated in Christian tradition with the activities of Saint Thomas the Apostle who is believed to have spent some time on the east coast after founding the primitive Chirstian Church in the neighbourhood of Cranganore on the west coast and to have suffered martyrdom near the present Saint Thomas' Mount. San Thomé was known to the Arab travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries as *Betumah*, *i.e.*, the house, church or town of Thomas, from which the name of the place has been evidently derived. Subsequent to the visit of these Arab travellers to this place, certain Nestorian Christians from Persia seem to have founded a church at the place and also to have built a tomb over the burial-site of St. Thomas as well as a monastery at the top of St. Thomas' Mount, the seat of his martyrdom. Early in the 16th century, this town of Christian worship was found to be in ruins by Duarte Barbosa, a well-known voyager and a brother-in-law of the circum-navigator, Magellan. The Portuguese formed a settlement at the place in 1522; and from that time it developed into a flourishing settlement of theirs, soon growing into a crowded and prosperous town. A short time afterwards they built the Luz Church in honour of Our Lady of Light, a mile to the west.

Closely associated with and precious to the several Christian communities, European, Indian and others, who flourished in San Thomé, was the equally sacred place of St. Thomas' Mount, whose Nestorian monastery was renovated by the Portuguese, who built therein a church dedicated to Our Lady of Expectation. They also developed into religious prominence in the 16th century the Little Mount which was also associated in tradition with the martyrdom of the Apostle. San Thomé

began to flourish as a prosperous trading settlement only after 1550. Its principal gateway faced west towards Mylapore, which was protected by walls of earth and had its own Hindu ruler. The Portuguese community of San Thomé lived a care-free life and had their own chief who was usually a Portuguese nobleman. When Francis Day prospected for the site of Madras in 1639, there was thrown out to him the suggestion that he might build his factory in San Thomé itself. The subsequent history of the fortunes of San Thomé will be detailed in their proper place in the main narrative.

Sadras at the mouth of the river Palar to the south of Madras and Pulicat on the shores of the lake of that name to the north were seats of Dutch enterprise in the 17th century. Pulicat was the first place on the Coromandel Coast to be colonized by the Hollanders. The Dutch East India Company founded a factory here and protected it with a fortress which is still known as Castle Geldria. It was in the seventeenth century a prosperous port trading in jewels and in cotton goods that were obtained in abundance in the locality; and the English when they were on the look-out for a suitable factory site, at first sought to establish themselves in its vicinity. This was in 1621 when they were in search of a site for a suitable factory.

Covelong, with its presiding Diety Komalamma and the euphonic Sanskrit title of Nitya Kalyanapura, is also an old Dutch settlement 20 miles south of Madras and near Sadras. Its importance persisted even in the 18th century after the Dutch power had begun to decline, because the Nawab of the Carnatic erected a mosque at the place over the tomb of an unknown, but famous, saint and renamed it Saadat Bunder or 'the Auspicious Port.' Chingleput, literally the lotus-town and not the brick town, is said to be as old as the age of Pallava rule and to have experienced all the historical vicissitudes through which Tondaimandalam (as the portion of the Tamil country lying to the north of Cholamandalam was termed) has passed. Its fort, now in ruins, is said to have been built in the later 16th century by Timmaraja, a scion of the ruling family of Vijayanagara.

of the Cooum and becomes the Beach Road running beneath the walls of the Fort into George Town. George Town itself is a rough parallelogram, dividing itself into long north-and-south streets chequered by transverse east-to-west streets. The southern base of George Town on the east side is the Esplanade Road which is flanked by the High Court Buildings, the Law College and the Madras Telephone Company's buildings on the south side and by the half Gothic structures and spires of the former Christian College buildings, the noble Y.M.C.A. buildings and Pachaiyappa's Hall with its classic façade on the north side. The Esplanade Road known as the China Bazar Road, has got a western projection running right up to the western limit of George Town in the neighbourhood of Elephant Gate. It is crowded with bazaars and is one of the most congested thoroughfares of the city. It may be said to be a rough dividing line between the northern and southern portions of George Town. Among the most important north-to-south arterial streets the first is the First Line Beach extending from Parry's Corner to the Customs House and beyond. It originally stood close to the shore and is lined by a row of noble structures of which the National, Imperial and Mercantile Banks buildings, the General Post and Telegraph Offices and the Old High Court buildings are prominent on one side, and the Anchor Gate with the turreted Port Trust Offices in the background and the Beach terminus station of the electrified South Indian Railway line flank the other side.

West of this First Line Beach, is the Second Line Beach which branches into two streets. To the westward lie Thambu Chetty Street, called after a merchant of that name of the 18th century; Armenian Street which indicates that a prosperous colony of Armenians originally lived in the quarter and Broadway, a road reclaimed from wasteland by Stephen Popham about 150 years ago. These are the chief north to south parallels besides the First Line Beach in the eastern half of George Town.

Broadway is still the dividing line between the two parts of George Town, even as the canal which ran along its course was the separating factor between Muthialpet and Peddanaickenpetta in former days. The China Bazar Road runs at a right angle to Broadway. Then comes the well-known Mint Street so called after the Mint which was once located in the buildings at its northern extremity and which runs right through to the southern end of George Town, abutting on the General Hospital Road. Mint Street is the heart of the city and is crowded with a numerous colony of Gujarati and Marwari merchants and money-lenders, after whom, the middle part of the street has been named Sowcarpet. Smaller parallels to Mint Street are Govindappa Naick Street, Godown Street whose name indicates its origin and where the bulk of dealers in cloth reside, and Devaraja Mudali Street and Nyniappa Naicken Street full of small traders and very busy traffic.

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The prosaic and well-known name of Red Hills, now applied to the area round the large tank that supplies Madras with its filtered water, was an important town even as early as the time of the Pallavas. It was a military station and known as Puzhalur; and it was the head-quarters of one of the governors of the 24 kottams or divisions into which Tondaimandalam, the country between Tirupati and the Southern Pennar was divided. The district of Puzhalur comprehended within its territorial jurisdiction the site of modern Madras. Kovilmadavaram, one of the names applied to the locality, was noted for its large Buddhistic shrine and another temple dedicated to Siva. The Pallavas are said to have developed the place; and after they fell, the Siva shrine was robbed of its bronze doors which were said to have been carried away to Tanjore.

Thus Madras has been comprehended in a region that was famous in the far-off days of Hindu rule and was fully dotted with great temples and important places associated with lives of saints and heroes. It might be said to be literally the focus-centre of a semi-circular area extending from Chingleput to Sholinghur and to Tirupati, every part of which has reason to pride itself on account of some sacred association or another. Its choice by the British as being very favourably situated for the obtaining of large quantities of cotton cloth and as possessing in a large measure those advantages which a factory port of the Europeans demanded in those days, is not, therefore, so inexplicable as may seem to the student at first sight. Moreover it was situated in the midst of several European settlements that lay distributed near one another along the coast from Armagon in the north to Pondicherry in the south. It is even claimed that before Madras came to be a British possession, it was not a mere fishing village, but contained important elements of social life and centres of culture. Certainly, the suburbs and parts of Madras like San Thomé, Mylapore, Triplicane and Tiruvottiyur have long been and still continue to be important centres of religious and social activity.

IV

The traveller who arrives by the railway either through Saidapet or Perambur will see very little of the city proper; and, in fact, any one coming from Calcutta to Madras and getting down at the Central Railway Station will not have seen anything of the city except the evil-smelling Buckingham Canal and the mills. It is said that in old days, before the growth of the foreshore, Madras presented to the traveller coming by sea a vista of noble buildings fronting the shore with the Fort and its buildings separated by a bit of maidan from this row. The maidan is now agreeably broken by the noble group of the Law Courts buildings; but the fair view has been marred by the protruding cranes, oil tank installations and other appurtenances of the rapidly growing port. The huge oil tanks located near the Royapuram Beach are the northern land-marks of the city.

The spire of the San Thomé Cathedral forms the land-mark on the south. The Harbour, jutting into the sea has been described by Sir Francis Spring who had so much to do with its development into its present proportions, as "a challenge planted in the face of the nature."

From San Thomé to Fort St. George runs the broad Marina along the sea-front for more than two miles. "Here all Madras pours out of an evening on foot, on bicycles, in carriages, in motors, to meet the cool evening breeze that blows in from the sea." On the land side of this road there is a row of buildings some of which are very stately like the Administrative and Library Buildings (recently constructed) and the Senate House of the University of Madras, the latter designed by Chisholm a famous architect; the beautiful Chepauk Palace; the Presidency College built in the Italian Renaissance style; the curious old Ice House now transformed out of its original shape, the gaunt pillared and domed edifice known as the University Examination Hall; and the plain, but nevertheless becoming, series of buildings accommodating Queen Mary's College for Women.

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of the Cooum and becomes the Beach Road running beneath the walls of the Fort into George Town. George Town itself is a rough parallelogram, dividing itself into long north-and-south streets chequered by transverse east-to-west streets. The southern base of George Town on the east side is the Esplanade Road which is flanked by the High Court Buildings, the Law College and the Madras Telephone Company's buildings on the south side and by the half Gothic structures and spires of the former Christian College buildings, the noble Y.M.C.A. buildings and Pachaiyappa's Hall with its classic façade on the north side. The Esplanade Road known as the China Bazar Road, has got a western projection running right up to the western limit of George Town in the neighbourhood of Elephant Gate. It is crowded with bazaars and is one of the most congested thoroughfares of the city. It may be said to be a rough dividing line between the northern and southern portions of George Town. Among the most important north-to-south arterial streets the first is the First Line Beach extending from Parry's Corner to the Customs House and beyond. It originally stood close to the shore and is lined by a row of noble structures of which the National, Imperial and Mercantile Banks buildings, the General Post and Telegraph Offices and the Old High Court buildings are prominent on one side, and the Anchor Gate with the turreted Port Trust Offices in the background and the Beach terminus station of the electrified South Indian Railway line flank the other side.

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lie scattered; and the oldest of them is in the Portuguese Church Street in the northern part of the town.

George Town has been the oldest and life-giving element in the city's composition. How it has grown into its present shape will be detailed in the course of the narrative. It is very over-crowded and some of its lanes and slums are really appalling. It has been cut off from any possibility of expansion on the south by the Esplanade and on the west by the M. & S. M. Railway line and the Buckingham (or Cochrane's) Canal which have at the same time created difficulties in the way of adequate surface drainage.

The chief suburbs on the western and north-western sides of George Town are Perambur, Choolai, Purasawakam and Vepery. The mill area is situated in the wedge between Perambur, Vepery and Basin Bridge and the north-western corner of George Town. Originally all this area was a low-lying swamp, but a portion of it has been reclaimed and properly drained by the authorities of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills which were started more than 50 years ago. Both were founded by Binny and Company which is itself an old Madras firm started by John Binny, an 18th century supercargo on an East Indiaman.

Vepery and the adjacent town of Purasawakam were originally popular as residential quarters for Europeans and Anglo-Indians; even to-day, the former place is inhabited by a large number of persons of these communities.

The main roads traversing these suburbs are the Choolai High Road projecting itself through Hunter's Road and going down to Kilpauk and the road which leads from the People's Park through Periamet to Vepery. Transverse north to south streets are furnished by the Sydenham's Road, skirting the People's Park on the west, Rundall's Road leading from the Madras Electric Supply Corporation offices by the side of Poonamallee Road into Vepery, the Ritherdon Road and Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar Road leading to Vepery and Purasawakam respectively. Kilpauk is still a favourite residential quarter of the Europeans, but contains a good number of the

bungalows of well-to-do Indian citizens who have come in the last three or four decades to appreciate the advantages of living in garden-houses. On the southern skirt of the Poonamallee High Road lies the Spur Tank, rapidly covered over with playgrounds. To the south of the Poonamallee High Road lie the suburbs of Chintadripet and Egmore while the Spur Tank is wedged in between the latter and Chetput. In Chintadripet, there is nothing much of historical or architectural interest except, perhaps, its origin as a weavers' village in the 18th century.

The Egmore Railway Station was recently rebuilt in the Indo-Saracenic style so much affected in Madras, of which the Senate House and the Imperial Bank buildings are the most prominent examples. It stands on the former site of the Civil Orphan Asylums and faces south.

On the Pantheon Road (so called because it skirted the old garden-house known as the Pantheon), are situated the Government Hospital for Women and Children, one of the largest of its kind in India, the Madras Museum and the Victoria Technical Institute. The last of these is a fine building in the Mughal style of northern India, but nicely adapted to Madras requirements. It is faced with a pink-coloured sand-stone characteristic of Mughal buildings. Its fine gateway resembles that of Akbar's dream-palace at Fathpur Sikri; and the large hall has a marble floor and a fine ceiling with relief ornament in chunam. Its foundation stone was laid by His Majesty King-Emperor George V on the occasion of his visit to Madras when Prince of Wales (1905-6).

From Egmore the Pantheon Road leads on through Anderson Bridge across the Cooum to Nungambakam which is a principal residential suburb for Europeans and whose Indian village is very popular as a residential quarter. The Old College which houses the offices of the Director of Public Instruction, on the bank of the Cooum was originally so named because in it was located for many years the College of Fort St. George for the training of junior civilians.

From the eastern end of the Anderson Bridge a road known as the Commander-in-Chief's Road (so named from its vicinity to the old Commander-in-Chief's residence which is now the Victoria Buildings), leads on to Mount Road across a bridge over the Cooum.

Enclosed between the Pantheon Road and the Commander-in-Chief's Road, are the suburbs of Pudupet and Komaleswaranpet, the latter being a neat little residential area with a few fine houses. The bridge over the Cooum leading from Komaleswaranpet to Mount Road is known as the Harris Bridge named after one of the 19th century Governors of the Presidency.

Pudupet lies to the south-west of the Harris Road leading from the bridge to the Pantheon Road. It is a congested quarter; but on the outskirts of it is located the Government Ophthalmic Hospital originally founded in 1819 and now enjoying a reputation as one of the best hospitals of its kind in the world. A new building of noble dimensions has recently risen on the Commander-in-Chief's Road by the side of the Cooum for the accommodation of the masonic lodges of the city.

Leaving these above mentioned suburbs and going back to the Fort area, we have in the northern Esplanade the great block of red buildings known collectively as the High Court. The Fort area stretches for nearly a mile from the High Court park on the north, down almost to the mouth of the Cooum on the south. The Fort came into its present shape by the last quarter of the 18th century ; and in the piping days of peace that followed, the outer battlements were demolished and the moat except for a small stretch on the west front was filled up. Even the coast batteries built as out-defences for the Fort —one at Royapuram known as the Clive Battery (in honour of Lord Clive, Governor of Madras) another opposite the Law Courts and the third near the mouth of the Cooum—have been neglected, the middle one having been pulled down in its entirety to give room to the expanding needs of the port and the South Indian Railway line.

Set over the old Sea Gate of the Fort with its double entrance is the new Legislative Council Chamber, which is faced with fine black-stone pillars whose history is very interesting. At the door of the hall is a brass wall-tablet that states that the historic pillars on the façade were built into the structure, at the desire of Sir Arthur Lawley, Governor (1906-11) in whose time the old Banqueting Hall which stood on this site was demolished to give place to this.

The flag staff of the Fort, said to be the highest in India, stands on the massive redan of the Sea Gate. Unfortunately the Sea Gate has been superseded by two modern gates of wrought iron erected to afford entrance to the Council Chamber; but they stand apart from the fortifications and are incongruous in their present surroundings.

To the north of the Council Chamber which contains also the offices of the Ministers and the Governor, is situated the Officers' Mess which was used for a long time as the Exchange of the City and on whose roof the first light-house of the port was erected as early as 1795. Within the Fort area, are streets and cross-roads named after the English monarchs of the 17th century and others, lined with buildings and barracks which evoke in us memories of the successive phases of growth of the English power in South India and conjure up before our vision the shades of Clive and Lawrence, Sir Eyre Coote and Sir Thomas Munro and other builders of British dominion in this part of the country.

The Secretariat building fronting westward and adjacent to the Council Chamber constitutes the historic successor of the earliest Factory House built by Cogan and Day at the foundation of the city. The central portion of the Secretariat building is held to date back to the end of the 17th century. To the west of the Secretariat is an open space part of which was formerly enclosed within what was known as the Fort Square and which served as the parade ground. To the south is St. Mary's Church which was built by Governor Streynsham Master and consecrated for divine service in 1680. The

vicissitudes through which it has passed as well as the origin of the closely-set grave-stones covering its yard should constitute one of the interesting chapters of the history of the city.

The Accountant-General's Office to the west of St. Mary's Church has got an interesting growth. It was originally the residence of an Armenian merchant and was leased out to Clive and others. It was finally acquired by the Company after the Armenians were evicted from the Fort and served as the Admiralty House as well as a place of entertainment.

Skirting the Marina which begins from the Napier Bridge on its north, there come first the Library and Administrative Buildings of the University and its Senate House which was finished in 1879. The latter is built in the Indo-Saracenic style according to the design of Mr. Chisholm; and its great hall raised on a basement floor is perhaps among the finest of its kind in India. Then comes the Chepauk Palace, once occupied by the Nawabs of the Carnatic and now by the Board of Revenue and the P.W.D. Secretariat. Beyond are the grounds of the Presidency College which is a handsome and imposing structure built in the 16th century Italian Renaissance style and formerly surmounted by a curious central dome underneath which is a fine marble statue of Mr. E. B. Powell, its first Principal and a pioneer of western education in the country. To the west of the Presidency College, but separated from its grounds by the Buckingham Canal, is the Victoria Students' Hostel originally built with the assistance of Government to provide a home for students attending the numerous colleges in the southern portion of the city. The block of buildings in the Chepauk Park including the Presidency College occupy the area from the Wallajah road to the head of the Pycroft's Road which is the main thoroughfare running west through the heart of Triplicane.

Triplicane is a very crowded suburb and owes its fame and popularity to its ancient Sri Parthasarathi Temple. To the south of the Marina and of Pycroft's Road are situated the playing grounds of the Presidency College and the pavilion

which is the provincial head-quarters of the Boy Scouts Movement, standing in what is popularly known as Lady Wenlock's Park. Adjacent to it rises the stately pillared and domed structure, serving as the Examination Hall of the University and thought by some to have a rather grim appearance in consequence. We now come to the peculiar structure known as the Ice House which is now used as a home for women students, but whose vaults were originally intended for the storage of natural ice brought by sea. Main roads, parallel to the Pycroft's Road, start west from Ice House and from the northern and southern bounds of Queen Mary's College compound ; and they are respectively known as the Ice House Road which forms the southern limit of Triplicane Town, Lloyd's Road which runs on and meets Mount Road near the Cathedral and Edward Elliot's Road which is taken on by the Cathedral Road to Nungambakam.

To the south of Edward Elliot's Road, we have, facing the sea, the offices of the Inspector-General of Police, a little beyond which, the Marina ends. The road continuing it is known as the San Thomé High Road, being an old street that ran north to south through the San Thomé Fort of the 17th century. The most important object of interest to the visitor in the locality is the San Thomé Cathedral. To the west of San Thomé and practically continuous with it, though interspersed with some gardens, is the town of Mylapore centred round the ancient temple of Sri Kapaliswarar. The importance of the place will be detailed in connection with the tracing of the fortunes of San Thomé.

Mylapore is the favourite residential quarter of wealthy Indians including a number of high officials and prosperous advocates. The beautiful car streets running round the temple and the ornamental tank to the west of it are lined with substantial houses, while the Luz Church Road leading from the Cutcherry Street to the Luz Church and beyond to Mowbray's Road is lined with fine bungalow residences, being in fact the "West End" of Hindu Madras.

San Thomé extends southwards over swamps and open spaces interspersed with large garden houses and stretching down to the Adyar River which is crossed by the Elphinstone Bridge. Some of these houses like Brodie Castle, Somerford (now comprehended in the grounds of the Chettinad House), and Leith Castle have interesting historical associations that the curious student may delve into with some profit. On the southern side of the Adyar is the extensive compound of the Theosophical Society stretching down to the sea and including a fine Oriental library and lecture hall.

Taking our stand once again in the Fort, we can proceed from the Wallajah Gate (so known because of the Wallajah Bastion by its side) across the Island, by a fine road with a treble row of trees on either side. This is the first stage of the famous Mount Road and cuts the Island ground into two halves. The Island is practically the most important play-ground of the city. We shall see how early in the history of Madras it was converted literally into an island by the cutting of a connecting canal between the Cooum and the North River. The Island was in former times the chief parade ground for the troops in the Fort ; in the 18th century there stood a powder factory in it. On the western side of the Island are the ordnance stores, His Excellency's Body-Guard Lines and a number of cemeteries, the best-known of which is the military one of St. Mary's containing some well-known tombs. The eastern half of the Island is practically occupied by the Madras Gymkhana Club and contains excellent golf-links. It formerly served as the race course and as a polo ground.

Crossing from the Island over the Willingdon Bridge, we come to that portion of the Mount Road which has been more developed and beautified than any other part of the city. Government House stands at the very entrance to this portion of the road in a spacious park that extends down to Chepauk on one side and to the Wallajah Road on the other. It is a huge dwelling-house built on the plan of the 18th century Madras

residences. Its acquisition and subsequent extensions are very interesting to read; while the famous Banqueting Hall used for official levées and receptions was built in 1802. A description both of the Government House and Banqueting Hall will be given in the narrative. It remains for us now to notice the number of excellent paintings that hang on the walls of the Hall and of Government House. Among them, are pictures of King George III and Queen Charlotte in their coronation robes painted about 1761 and a painting of Major Lawrence and Nawab Wallajah represented as walking side by side in the Island of Srirangam and witnessing the surrender of French troops in 1752. There is another picture of Nawab Wallajah in the collection, and one of Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General, who personally conducted the war against Tipu Sultan in 1791-92 and who is depicted as standing at the entrance to his tent within which is seen the title of the treaty that was concluded by him with Tipu. On Cornwallis's return from his victorious campaign, the citizens of Madras gave him an entertainment and resolved to have a marble statue of his set up in the city. It is this that is now seen in the southern end of the Connemara Public Library Hall.

The Marquess Wellesley, Governor-General, who came down to Madras to supervise the last war with Tipu in 1799 has got a picture of him in the Banqueting Hall. Another noteworthy painting is that of Sir Eyre Coote who assisted Clive in the battle of Plassey and later destroyed the French power at Wandiwash and captured Pondicherry and, in the crisis of the great war with Hyder, won the victory of Porto Novo and saved Madras. He died in 1783 at Fort St. George and his body was first buried in the Fort Church. A three-quarter length portrait of Lord Clive and one of Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) who spent some time in Madras in 1798 may also be noticed.

Numerous Governors of Madras find a place in the collection of paintings. Among them may be noted the following :—Sir William Meadows (1790-92) who took part in the Third Mysore

War; Sir George Barlow who was Governor-General and later Madras Governor; Lord William Bentinck who also occupied both these offices; the famous Sir Thomas Munro who spent nearly half a century in South India and left his impress upon every department of the administration; the Marquess of Tweeddale (1842-48) in whose time the Government Maternity Hospital was established and the old Light House built; Lord Harris (1854-59); Mr. Morehead, Provisional Governor in 1860; Sir Charles Trevelyan (1859-60) who was the brother-in-law of Macaulay and opened the People's Park; Lord Napier (1866-72); Lord Hobart (1872-75) who opened the Madras Water Works; his namesake, another Lord Hobart, who was Governor in the previous century; Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, Governor (1881-85) who was a son of Captain Grant-Duff, the famous historian of the Marathas and displayed great intellectual attainments and in whose time the Marina was constructed; the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1875-80) who commenced the excavation of the Buckingham Canal as a sort of relief work during the great famine of 1876-77 and constructed the Government House at Ootacamund; Lord Connemara, Governor (1886-1900), Lord Ampthill (1901-6) Sir Arthur Lawley (1906-11) and Lord Pentland (1912-19).

A statue was very recently erected near the entrance to the Gymkhana grounds in the Islands to Lord Willingdon, a popular Governor. In the Government House collection are included several pictures which originally belonged to the Nawabs of Carnatic, besides one of Shuja-ud-dowlah, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh. There are representations of Nawab Wallajah's sons and successors among these. Some of those pictures were originally hung in the Exchange in the Fort, in the old Town Hall of the Corporation, in the Fort and in the College Hall. A portrait of Queen Victoria in the collection was one of three pictures sent out to the three Presidencies by the Secretary of State in 1862 to mark the transfer of the Government from the East India Company to the Crown.

The Banqueting Hall is a memorial of the English victory at Seringapatam and Lord Clive, the Governor at the time of its construction, associated with this his father's great victory (Plassey). Its imposing interior is used for all state ceremonies in connection with Government House.

Mount Road skirting Government House contains the premises of Oakes and Company which had a record of nearly a century and has been absorbed by Spencer and Company. The famous firm of jewellers known as P. Orr & Sons, was originally started in 1899, and its premises form a distinct ornament to Mount Road, having been designed by Mr. Chisholm The building has a handsome clock-tower surmounting it, the clock of which is connected with Madras Observatory and to which the correct time is signalled hourly. The new offices of the Madras Mail and the lofty structure that is almost nearing completion in which " The Hindu " will hereafterwards carry on its business, are new ornaments to the Mount Road in this part.

At the junction of the Mount and Wallajah Roads stood an old land-mark of the city known as the Vizianagaram Fountain which was a graceful domed pavilion constructed by a late Maharajah of Vizianagaram. Going further down Mount Road we pass Christ Church and the adjacent spacious premises of the Cosmopolitan Club, to the Bharat Buildings which form an imposing and handsome monumental pile occupying an excellent site. The building has three façades, the longest one facing Mount Road. The main façade on the north in the angle between Mount Road and General Patter's Road is flanked by two elegant towers on either side, standing nearly a hundred feet high and crowned by an ornamental pediment. Opposite to the Bharat Buildings, are the Lawrence Asylum Press, now used as a branch press of the Government and the premises of Messrs. Higginbothams who are a longstanding bookselling and publishing concern. The founder of the firm, Mr. Higginbotham started business as long ago as 1844 and was the librarian of the Wesleyan Book Depository before. The firm

has published very many valuable books bearing on South India among others.

Down the road till one arrives at the place where stood formerly the statue of General Neill of Mutiny fame, new and handsome structures have been rising up almost every season contributing to a great increase in the dignity of appearance presented by the locality. The site of Neill's statue itself is now the centre of a spacious square where several roads meet. It is faced on all sides with noble buildings, the finest of which are the spacious headquarters premises of Messrs. Spencer and Company, built in a quaint style and with the façade broken up into three gables, the ends being surmounted with turrets which add to the general effect. The wide compound of the Government Muhammadan College, the main building of which is an old garden-house, the neighbouring Connemara and Spencer's Hotels and the fine avenued entrance road leading to the Madras Club, are among the other attractive features of this locality. Beyond Spencer's premises Mount Road becomes more and more a residential quarter broken by patches of crowded tenements which mar the uniform stately appearance of the road. At the junction of the Mount and Cathedral roads lies St. George's Cathedral with its towering spire built in the second decade of the last century.

To the west of the Cathedral, on the other side of the road are situated the Gardens of the Agri-Horticultural Society started in 1835. They cover 22 acres and contain numerous fine flower-beds, tanks gay with lotuses of different colours, glass-houses, lawns and groves. The Society holds an annual flower-show in February and its nursery garden is on the opposite side of the road a little to the east.

Further on was the famous Cenotaph of Cornwallis, once the resort of fashionable society in the evenings with the Long Tank on the right side behind a mud embankment; and a little lower down to the left is the Military Grass Farm.

Crossing the toll-gate which marks the limit of the city in this direction, we come to the Lushington Gardens now the

residence of the Collector of Chingleput, which was formerly a botanical garden where Dr. Anderson made experiments in connection with the cochineal industry. The great Choultry Plain constituted by the stretches on both sides of the Mount Road, is full of garden-houses many of which grew up in the 18th century. Then come the offices of the Collector of Chingleput and the gleaming white buildings of the Teachers College on the left with the crowded town of Saidapet lying on the right. We now reach the famous Marmalong Bridge across the Adyar marked at the four ends by yellow posts, each surmounted by melon-shaped ornaments. The bridge takes its name from the neighbouring village of Mambalam which has now become a very popular residential quarter for Indians and part of which has been included within the municipal limits of the city. The bridge was rebuilt in 1726 by Peter Uscan an Armenian merchant as already told.

Uscan left a fund for the maintenance of this bridge. To the south of the bridge runs a road which takes the visitor to the Little Mount rendered famous by its association with the Apostle Thomas.

From the southern end of the Marmalong bridge the road turns sharply to the right with a terracotta pavilion containing a statute of King-Emperor George V. It goes past the railway station of Guindy which is adjacent to the Cantonment station of St. Thomas' Mount which became, very early in the history of Madras, a popular resort of its English settlers. And the fine Race Course grounds of the Madras Race Club are near the Guindy railway station.

At the northern foot of the Mount there is a high gate of four simulated arches surmounted by a cross with the date 1547. Immediately inside are several grave-stones bearing old Portuguese inscriptions. Steps flanked by low balustrades lead up to the top of the Mount; and these are held to have been constructed by Peter Uscan, the builder of the Marmalong Bridge. From the top of the Mount, a wide and attractive vista can be commanded on all sides. In the town underneath

the Mount, there are several old garden-houses and barracks and other military appurtenances like the Artillery Mess considered to be one of the finest in India and the grey Garrison Church. The place is full of the reminiscences of the growth of British power; and the French suffered a defeat here in the course of their siege of Madras in 1758-9.

To the south-east of the Mount lies the supplementary cantonment of Pallavaram near which there is a Wireless Installation as well as the Madras Aerodrome. Pallavaram is noted for its pure and clear air and has been used as a health resort by invalids and consumptives. The Pallavaram range of hills have been freely quarried in the last half a century and more. The so called Pitt's Pillars built into the Legislative Council Chamber are supposed to be of Pallavaram stone. The material required for the macadamising of the Madras roads (the broken stone is known as blue metal familiarly), has been quarried from the Pallavaram hills. The stone is known as Pallavaram gneiss or charnockite.

Coming back to the middle of the Mount Road, the visitor is led along the Cathedral Road which meets Mowbray's Road at the corner of Sullivan's Gardens. This fine shaded avenue is, or at least was till recently, one of the most beautiful roads of Madras shaded by umbrageous trees for the greater part of its length. It runs south and separates Teynampet from Mylapore and the Luz; and it continues down to the famous Mowbray's Gardens, now used as the Adyar Club, which is a fine house situated in a noble park bounded on the south by the Adyar River. The park is rhomboidal in shape and the house is built near the crossing of the diagonal lines. A peculiarity of it is that a small dome rises above the central hall with open sides above the roof which acts as a ventilator and gives a distinctive feature to the structure.

All along the banks of the Adyar are situated fine garden-houses of which the most ancient and spacious is the Brodie Castle built on the bank of the Quibble Island. Similar wide-spaced garden-houses adorn the area, of which Leith

Castle and Somerford, now part of the Chettinad House grounds, are typical.

Of the western portions of the city one can get a clear idea by traversing the length of the Poonamallee Road which leads on to Poonamallee, an abandoned convalescent station for British troops situated about 14 miles from the Fort.

From the St. George's Gate on the west of the Fort, the Poonamallee Road may be said to begin. In its first stage it is called the General Hospital Road, being flanked on the south by the long stretching compound of the Medical College and the General Hospital. On the north side of it, after the stretch of the Esplanade is traversed, we come to the southern end of Mint Street flanked on the one side by the Memorial Hall Buildings, constructed out of public subscriptions as a thanks-offering for the Presidency being saved from the horrors of the Indian Mutiny, "as is indicated by the smug self-satisfaction of the text which runs along the front of the building." The Hall is used for public meetings of a Christian character and the main building is flanked on the sides by the offices of the Christian Literature Society and the British Foreign Bible Society.

Opposite the main entrance to the Hospital grounds is situated the Central Railway Station which is the terminus of all trains going west, north-west and north and is a handsome structure with small side towers and a central imposing clock-tower. To the east of the station and occupying the whole frontage from the Wall-tax Road to Mint Street, lies the stately structure faced with stone and turreted with quaint cupolas all round, which accommodates the offices of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company.

Passing along the road by the General Hospital Bridge spanning Cochrane's Canal, we come to a line of imposing buildings fringing the southern edge of the People's Park. The first of these is the Moore Market named after Sir George Moore, a former popular President of the Corporation who took great interest in its construction in the place of the congested

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and insanitary market that existed in Broadway and that has since been converted into a park. The market is a great convenience to the middle and upper classes of the population and is well ventilated and kept in a clean condition.

To the east of the Market is a supplementary structure allotted to vendors of worn-out, second-hand and, in some cases, stolen goods, who formerly vended their wares in what was known as the Guzili Bazar near the Memorial Hall. Adjacent to the Moore Market is the Victoria Public Hall which owes its origin to the initiative of Sir A. T. Arundel, a former President of the Municipality who later became a member of the Viceroy's Council and to the munificence of a former Maharajah of Vizianagram; its construction was completed in 1887 in time for Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. The style is that of Mr. Chisholm who designed so many other buildings in Madras. The Hall is managed by a body of Trustees and is used for public and private meetings, lectures, theatrical and other performances.

Next are the stately Ripon Buildings opened in 1913 by the then Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. It is built of brick and chunam with comparatively little mixture of stone and is surmounted by a graceful tower with a big clock which chimes out, Westminster-like, in a musical and sonorous tone, the hours and the quarters. The new building is suited to the dignity and the ancient lineage of the Madras Corporation, the offices of which were previously confined in narrow premises in one of the transverse streets in eastern George Town.

All these three buildings have been built well away from the margin of the road and with clear open spaces all round. Behind these, lies the People's Park opened in 1860 by Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor. It is the largest open space in the city, and contains several ornamental palms, a good nursery of plants, a fairly representative collection of animals in a well-kept Zoo and a small well laid out flower-garden known as "My Ladye's Garden" where annually the Corporation holds a flower show. In it is also located the South Indian Athletic

Association founded about 40 years ago for the promotion and organisation of different branches of sports among Indians and Europeans. It has certainly succeeded in fostering habits of sport and athletic indulgence among its members; and it has been running with a fair amount of success an annual Carnival or Fair in its grounds during the Christmas season and thus contributing to the holiday enjoyment of the inhabitants of the city and of the numerous visitors thereto during that season.

On the other side of the Poonamallee Road, there is the Choultry built by Rajah Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, a merchant prince of a former generation; and by its side is another choultry built by a Muslim philanthropist for the accommodation of Mussalmans. Behind these lies the South Indian Railway line flanked by the tall grim walls of the Penitentiary. Poonamallee Road leads on from Ripon Buildings situated near the Periamettah of old Madras, straight west and runs on to the western boundary of the City near which is situated the building of the Orphan Asylum. It is lined in its course by the Gun Carriage Factory which is now utilised for an unmilitary object, by the quaint Gothic School of Arts building and by the Scotch Kirk dominated by a fine spire. It then leads on through the residential suburbs of Egmore and Kilpauk, being lined on either side by spacious bungalows.

The northern reaches of the city stretching from the Fort, have not got many objects of interest for the visitor. The First Line Beach runs right up to the noble edifice of the Royapuram Railway Station which was the former terminus and head-quarters of the Madras Railway, and the streets behind it are largely utilised for the accommodation of commercial and banking firms. Behind these, lies the crowded quarter known as Muthialpettah, the southern ends of whose streets abut on the Esplanade and China Bazar Roads. Mention has been already made of the Y.M.C.A. building and the former Christian College buildings which front the Esplanade on the Muthialpettah side. The Y.M.C.A. building is the most notable one of its kind; it is the outcome of American generosity and is built after the

so-called Jaipur-Jaina style being built of brick and mortar picked out of stone and faced entirely with stone. In the Armenian Street near the Esplanade entrance, are two Churches of historic interest. The more southerly one is the Armenian Church built about 1772 on the site of the old Armenian cemetery. The date 1712 borne on the façade probably indicates the date of the original small chapel in the cemetery. The belfry is distinct and stands apart from the Church. Close to the Armenian Church, is the Roman Catholic Cathedral which has over its gateway the date 1642. As in the case of the Armenian Church, this date is not the date of the construction of the present Cathedral, but is only a public record of the first establishment of the Capuchin Mission in Madras. In 1772 the present Cathedral was built. The Church has a broad nave and an interesting sanctuary. The picture of the Crucifixion and of Mary Magdalene in the Church is supposed to be one of the finest oil paintings in India. There is a chapel attached to the Cathedral named after Moorat, a wealthy Armenian merchant who flourished at the beginning of the last century and who was the owner of the Pantheon Gardens and numerous other buildings and left a charitable benefaction known as the Moorat Fund. In North George Town and in the suburb of Royapuram, there are several interesting and old churches, of which the most ancient is the Portuguese Church in the big Paracherry. The relics of the Black Town wall on the north should also receive notice. The northern suburbs of Royapuram and Tondiarpettah were once favourite residential quarters of the richer classes of Indians, but have lost comparatively much in popularity. The main north to south roads of North Madras are the continuations of Mint Street and Broadway. The former leads on straight to Tiruvottiyur, just outside the municipal limits of the city. Tiruvottiyur is known for its association with the famous ascetic, Pattinattu Pillaiyar whose *samadhi* can still be seen within the town. Saint Sundara one of the noted Saiva Nayanars, is also associated with the temple which was greatly encouraged by the Chola kings of the past. The

presiding deity is named Theagaraja. The north-east line of the M. & S. M. Railway runs almost parallel to the Tiruvottiyur High Road; and along the line, railway extension works are going on apace which will result in these villages considerably increasing in their importance a few years hence.

The north-western area of the city beginning from the Basin Bridge Junction can be said to have a basic importance taking in the mill area occupied by the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills and their appurtenances and ending in the Kilpauk Waterworks. The extensive workshops of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway adjoining Perambur and the railway colony growing up by the side, are really outgrowths of the city, though situated beyond the municipal limits proper.

The scheme of remodelling the City with a view to provide increased facilities of roadway and tram-way transport and of quicker communication between the city and the outlying suburbs, has been occupying the attention of all the agencies concerned which include besides the Railway and Tramway Companies, the City Planning Trust, the Police Department and the Corporation.

I

PROSPECTING FOR A SETTLEMENT

Madras the oldest British settlement in India

MADRAS is the oldest among the Presidencies and has three centuries of steady growth behind it. It is as old as English enterprise itself in this part of the Coromandel Coast. Though it is not the earliest British settlement in the country, it constitutes their first territorial acquisition, with the exception of the insignificant fort at Armagon, a little to the north of Pulicat Lake, which had been acquired a few years previously. Again, it was for a number of years the only fortified possession of the English Company.

English factories at Masulipatam and at Armagon

The first trading-house or factory of the English was built at the great Mughal port of Surat on the Bombay Coast in 1612. On the east coast their first factory was erected at Masulipatam, the rich emporium of the kingdom of Golconda. In those days, Masulipatam was the chief port of the kingdom and served as the principal market for diamonds and rubies for which Golconda was so famous and also for the valuable chintz and painted cloths which were produced in abundance in the neighbourhood. The fortunes of the English factory at Masulipatam underwent rapid changes. Dutch rivalry, Portuguese jealousy and the oppression of the Mussalman governor of the town drove the English merchants to the desperate resolve of abandoning their factory and to take shelter further south. They planned to share with the Dutch in the latter's settlement at Pulicat in 1621; but the joint enterprise was not convenient to either party and was quickly given up. In 1626 the distracted English merchants obtained the grant of a small piece of ground at Armagon, situated 35 miles to the north of Pulicat, where they subsequently erected a small factory and a fort. Armagon was a miserably poor place for trade; and the interior was too poor to supply the quantities of calico cloth that the Company wanted from this part of the country for Europe consumption.

The Armagon factory enjoyed a short-lived importance for a few years as the only safe shelter for the English in a period of anarchy and of bitter European rivalry. The condition of the Carnatic, *i.e.,* the districts of the coast from Guntur downwards, was not prosperous nor secure; and bitter internecine war tore the land to pieces. Masulipatam was, however, safe under the protection of the Sultan of Golconda and the troubled English factors at Armagon designed to go back to that port, particularly since they were tempted by the offer of a Golden Farman in which the Sultan of Golconda offered them some privileges; but when they actually reached Masulipatam they found that famine had desolated the country, that " the major part of weavers and washers were dead and the country almost ruinated ". (Letters to the Company, 1632-33). The Sultan assured the English that " under the shadow of Me the King, they shall sit down at rest and in safety "; and, in return, they promised to import Persian horses for him. Thus, in spite of depression and famine, the English factors drifted back to Masulipatam for the time, and practically abandoned Armagon. This move however proved barren of any good result.

Nature and methods of trade

In 1639 Thomas Clarke was the English Agent at Masulipatam, while Francis Day was the chief of the subordinate settlement at Armagon. Masulipatam was unprosperous and Armagon was a hopeless place. The Dutch were openly hostile, having been embittered against the English after the Amboyna incident. In those days the English trade at their factories consisted chiefly in the purchase of cotton goods for export to Bantam in the Malay Archipelago. There was also a certain amount of trade with Surat and the Persian Gulf Coast, besides a little volume of port-to-port trade. The most usual method of purchasing cotton cloth was by a system of advances of money to the weavers of the locality through Indian middle-men, later known as dubashes (interpreters, who knew the two languages of the English and the locality) who guaranteed the proper and timely supply of cloth, bleached and unbleached, including painted and printed varieties. The

operations necessary for securing enough cloth for an export season lasted many months. The difficulty was that a steady supply of money for these investments in cloth was not forthcoming to the factors, who received miserably small salaries and devoted themselves largely to private trading for their own profit. The Dutch at Pulicat were in a far more advantageous position. The neighbourhood of that place was noted for its cotton weaving. Their fort of Geldria was strong enough to defy any attack by the Hindu governor of the locality and able to deal with him on equal terms and also to protect the weavers who had settled under its walls. The condition of Masulipatam was definitely declining. The English quarrels with the local officials were frequent and bitter; and there was no possibility of getting easy redress from the court of Golconda. The English finally decided that a settlement to the southwards would be a great convenience, though Armagon was not at all encouraging, its Nayak being unfriendly and its English factors being very unresourceful; while, with every monsoon, the small fort at the place became more and more dilapidated, and any expenditure on repair or further fortification of it was not permitted by the Agent at Masulipatam, nor by his superior at Bantam. Indeed, the Directors of the English Company sent out definite orders in 1638-39 that Armagon was to be dismantled and abandoned. In fact, the English factors at the latter place bravely risked their master's displeasure by delaying its dismantling, because they were anxious to determine first whether and where a better settlement could be found.

The English decide on abandoning Masulipatam and Armagon

At first, the English factors turned their attention to the neighbourhood of Pondicherry and Francis Day, the Chief of Armagon, voyaged to its neighbourhood to treat with the authorities for the acquisition of a desirable site. The Dutch factors at Pulicat recorded the rumour that the English desired to build a fort either at Pondicherry or at Kunimedu, thirteen miles to its north. This first plan of Day

Francis Day looks about for a likely settlement

came to nothing. But it quickly became known that the English were desirous of moving to a settlement south of Armagon; and before long, the Nayak of the coast country, Damarla Venkatappa, made an offer to Day of a settlement in his dominion. Damarla Venkatappa (or Venkatadri) and his younger brother, Aiyappa, belonged to the Velugoti family of Kalahasti. The elder Damarla brother, Venkatappa, was the chief of Wandiwash and enjoyed considerable influence over his master, the Rajah of Chandragiri (a descendant of the famous Vijayanagara emperors), and controlled his entire administration. We learn from Dutch records that Venkatadri commanded an army of about 12,000 to 15,000 soldiers, that his chief residence was at Wandiwash, but he spent most of his time with the Raya at his capital; while his brother, Aiyappa Nayak, resided at Poonamallee (to the west of Madras) and looked after his brother's government of the coast country. It was from these two Damarla brothers that the English obtained the grant of the site of Fort St. George, the nucleus of the present city of Madras. It was natural that the English records should have mentioned the elder Damarla as governing the coast country between Pulicat and San Thomé (to the south of Fort St. George) and that he was the "Lord General of Carnatica" and "Grand Vizier to the King."

The Damarla brothers offer Madras

Naturally the negotiations for the acquisition of the settlement were made in the name of Damarla Venkatappa, though perhaps the first overtures were begun by his brother Aiyappa of Poonamallee. These proposals were first made probably in the spring or early summer of 1639. They were sufficiently attractive to induce Francis Day to seek to obtain the consent of the Agent at Masulipatam for permission to go to the neighbourhood of the settlement offered in order to examine the possibilities of the cloth trade in that locality and then to open negotiations with the Nayak for a formal grant. On his return from this journey, Day wrote that he reached the neighbourhood of Madras on the 27th of July 1639, and he was received well

Day voyages to Madras and examines its potentialities

by the Nayak and by the merchants, painters, and weavers of the place. He compared the cloths woven in the locality and their prices with those prevailing at Armagon and judged that the latter were in excess of the former by 20, 30 and, in some cases, even 40 per cent. The availability of cheap cloth was the first consideration with the servants of the Company. Armagon was by contrast held out to be miserably poor, and its Nayak "continuously forcing." The goods procured there could be had at least 15 per cent cheaper to the southward.

The grant secured by Day from the Nayak (on the 22nd July 1639 as noted in it) for permission to build a fort and castle at Madraspatam, exists in three copies which are contemporary versions and are now preserved among the India Office Records. It said that the charges for the building of the fort should be defrayed by the Nayak himself in the first instance, but should be repaid as and when the English should first take possession of the fort. It granted also full power and authority to govern and dispose of the administration of Madraspatam for a period of two years after the English should take possession of the fortification, and also to receive half the customs and the revenues of the port. Their goods either for import or for export should be free from duty not only for the period of two years, but for ever after, and they should perpetually enjoy the privilege of minting coins without having to pay any dues or duties whatsoever. The Nayak also undertook to guarantee the proper payment of monies etc., by the merchants, painters and weavers residing in Madraspatam, in case they failed in their contracts for supply of cloth, and to make good to the English "all such sums of money as shall remain on their accounts or else deliver to them their persons if they shall be found in any part of my territories." No duty should be payable on the provisions that the English might buy for their fort or ships; and if any ship belonging to the English or having come for purposes of trade should suffer ship-wreck and be driven upon any part of

The Nayak's grant of Madras—its conditions

the coast under the dominion of the Nayak, he would restore to them whatever could be found of the wreck. Sir William Foster* thinks that the date given in one of the versions of the above grant, namely, the 22nd of July 1639, being appended to the copy attached to the defence of Andrew Cogan, Agent at Masulipatam then, was possibly a mistake for 22nd August and the date of the grant may be correctly taken to be the 22nd of August 1639.

Its date—22nd August 1639 (O. S.)

Day resolved to take this grant personally to Masulipatam in order that he might urge upon the Agent and Council at that factory the importance of an early decision as to its acceptance. On arrival at Masulipatam, he found that the previous Agent, Thomas Ivie, had been superseded by Andrew Cogan who was sent from Surat to take charge of the factories of the East Coast. Cogan had, indeed, secured on his way to Masulipatam a new *farman* from the Sultan of Golconda for the English factory at Masulipatam; but he supported the proposal of Day and succeeded in getting a resolution passed by his Council to send him back again to Madraspatam in order to keep the Nayak firm in his promises, pending the receipt of sanction from the Directors at home.

Day secures the sanction of the Council of Masulipatam

In the Masulipatam Consultations of 5th September, 1639, Day was given permission to go back to Madraspatam and to see that the time-limit originally fixed for the completion of the negotiations should be prolonged, as the superior Presidency of Bantam (in the Eastern Archipelago) had not yet definitely sanctioned the building of a factory; and " if the Nayak shall earnestly persist therein, the said Francis Day shall on occasion *pishcash* (present) him with one of the horses (taken with him); which, with good words and his being there to negotiate, will, we hope, delay his importancy till further order arrive from Bantam or elsewhere."

* *Vide* "The Founding of Fort St. George"; 1902. p. 8.

Day however found it difficult to secure the necessary funds. He had quarrelled with Ivie and he saw that the Masulipatam Council was not enthusiastic in carrying out the plan. However, he waited to see that he was supplied at least with 2,000 pagodas in order to pay off some pressing debts at Armagon and to get some assistance from its Indian merchants. The Council resolved to borrow the necessary amount; and Day offered to guarantee the interest on the loan till the ensuing Christmas, requesting at the same time that he should not be made a loser by the transaction. According to a letter from the Masulipatam Factory to the Company, dated 25th October 1639, we find that Day had set out for Armagon on his way to Madras. He was asked to report what kinds of painted cloth were available at San Thomé and in the neighbourhood of Madras and whether Madraspatam afforded facilities for obtaining painted cloth, long cloth, *murrees* and *percallas*,* cheaper by 20 per cent than anywhere else.

"Madraspatam is seen here in this letter to lie upon a high plot of ground adjoining the sea where a ship of any Burthen might ride at a distance of musket shot, close by a river which was capable of a vessel of 50 tons." This site is the spit of land to the north of the mouth of the Cooum river, and west of the North River where it joins the Cooum.

Supposed advantages of Madras

These advantages, which Madras was said to possess, were obviously exaggerated. The shallow surf-beaten coast did not permit of ships lying at anchor close by; nor was the mouth of the Cooum deep enough even for the small ships of those days. Anyhow, Day had persuaded the Masulipatam Council into believing in all these advantages and in the profitability of the concessions offered by the Nayak. The Nayak hoped, on his side, to get good horses from Persia through the English, to send a servant of his into the Bay of Bengal in one of the English ships sailing thereto to secure hawks, apes, parrots and

* Murrees = pieces of blue cloth woven in the locality.

Percallas = spangled robes set with pieces of glass.

such other curiosities and lastly to strengthen his dominion with this friendly port. This letter of the Masulipatam Council further tells us that the Portuguese Captain (Governor) of San Thomé, under instructions from his master, the Viceroy of Goa, offered the English any part of his town wherein they might desire to settle. But they would make no promise nor any denial. Likewise, another letter was sent to the President at Bantam requesting his early sanction for the undertaking. A few days later intimation was received from the Presidency of Surat that the factories on the Bay of Bengal coast had been removed from the control of Bantam and placed under their charge. Cogan and the Masulipatam Council now began to write to the Surat Council asking for permission to proceed with their resolve. The reply of the Surat Council, dated 8th January 1640, was designedly ambiguous. It said that the project of fortifying Madraspatam should have by that time too far advanced for their direction to improve the action; "if so, they hoped that the factors had taken all necessary precautions and had weighed all the objections that might be made to such a course......some such place is very necessary for provision of paintings (chintzs)." This letter was received at Masulipatam on the 6th February 1640 and was interpreted as giving the necessary permission to take possession of Madras, though the Surat Council had also suggested in it the possibility of acquiring Tranquebar from the Danes, "if their poverty should induce them to part with it."

Further negotiations

The permission of the Surat Council also secured

A fortnight after the receipt of the Surat letter, Day who had already dismantled the factory at Armagon, arrived at Madraspatam (20th February 1640) along with Cogan in the *Eagle*. The erection of the fort was seriously taken on hand immediately after their arrival, perhaps from the 1st of March 1640. The Nayak now informed Day that he did not ever intend or promise to build the fort walls with other material than palmyra trees and

The Nayak declines to help in the construction of the Fort

earth and if the English had misunderstood him, it was the fault of their interpreter. Of course Day and Cogan were anxious that the construction of the fort should proceed intensively somehow or other; and once more we find Day undertaking to pay out of his own pocket the interest on any sum that might have to be borrowed for the purpose of construction, though soon afterwards he thought better and wrote to be relieved of the undertaking. It is surmised from the name given to the fort, namely Fort St. George, that, perhaps, the inner part of the fort was finished by St. George's Day, *i.e.*, 23rd of April 1640. Of course, the Nayak did not help in the building of it at all, saying that he had promised nothing but the ground and some other petty help and that he had neither money nor material with which to commence or perfect the fort. The English had to reconcile themselves to bearing the entire cost of the fort as they could not abandon the place, nor desist from the construction work at this stage. They were very hopeful of a bright future, because, in spite of the opposition of the Portuguese of San Thomé, they had so prospered in the new settlement that 300 or 400 families of weavers, painters and other workmen had come to live in the town planted by the north side of the fort. In fact the Directors were assured that a considerable quantity of long cloth and painted cloth and many other kinds of stuff and clothing which were in demand at Bantam and at other places in the Archipelago might be easily procured at Madras. The Surat letter thus cautiously concludes:—"And thus we have cursorily expressed the story of your Forts foundation and erection. If you are pleased to read the several circumstances more particularly described, ... you will not find that we positively ordered the building of that Fort, as the Agent etc. in their letter to you (herewith sent) falsely intimate."

The expectation of a prosperous future for the place

The new settlement of weavers etc., that now grew up got the name of Chennappapatnam at the desire of the Nayak who desired to have it named after his father Chennappa Nayak. All the settlers in the place

Its first growth

were granted freedom from taxes for a period of 30 years. At the time when the fort was begun there were living in the village some French Padres (two Capuchin Friars) and about a half a dozen houses occupied by fishermen. Proclamation was made that for 30 years no customs or duty would be levied on any article of drink, food and clothing required by the inhabitants. By November 1640, there were about 400 families settled; and the Dutch factors of Pulicat, writing early in 1641, reported that the English settlement, which formerly consisted of 15 to 20 fishermen's huts had then about 70 or 80 houses, including many persons driven from San Thomé and neighbouring towns by bad trade or by hope of employment in Madras.

Day censured and sent to England

By the end of 1640 one bulwark of the fort had been completed; eight iron guns had been put in position on a base of great blocks of iron-stone facing the San Thomé or southern side from which an attack was feared. A second bulwark was almost finished in a few months, while considerable progress had been made with the building of the connecting walls. But the Directors objected to the cost and suggested that Day should give a security for 3,000 or 4,000 pagodas. It was unfortunate that complaints regarding some of his transactions in the cloth trade made the Surat Council resolve upon sending him home. Consequently, Day embarked for England which he reached in July 1641. He was, however, sent back, after a due inquiry into the charges against him, with

His return to India (July, 1642)

the welcome remark that he was the "first projectour of the fort of St. George." He reached Madras in July 1642. It was during Day's absence in England that Cogan transferred the seat of the Agency from Masulipatam to Fort St. George; and thus from the 24th of September 1641, Madras became the chief of the English factories on the east coast. Cogan reached Madras from Masulipatam on that date which can be taken as having given Madras for the first time that importance that it has subsequently maintained.

The difficulties confronting the settlement

In the face of these difficulties the English merchants at Madras were not very hopeful of the future of their settlement. They regretted that their action in building a fort had drawn upon them the censure of the Directors; but they felt convinced that "if so be your Worships will follow this Coast trade (or rather the Carnatic) this place may prove as good as the best; but all things must have its growth and time." They were convinced that their neighbourhood to San Thomé should be no impediment to the prosperity of their settlement. And they found their Nayak "still as good as his word though he excused himself in the matter of the erection of the fort." The Surat Council wrote, apparently in reply to a letter from the Directors disapproving of the Fort St. George project, that "by what we have heard of it, the Fort is conveniently enough sited, and may serve you to many good purposes; and therefore since you have been pleased to refer its maintenance or dissolution to our doome, we have seriously considered of it and at last resolved to let it stand till your next year's Battery."* Nor did the letters from the Company, brought out in the ship in which Day returned, prove satisfactory at all, since they conveyed in even stronger terms the Company's dissatisfaction with the action of the English factors at Madras. As to all

Cogan's defence

this attack, Cogan stood firm and square and defended himself with vigour against the charges of extravagance and against the censure individually passed against him. He maintained that the Surat Council had practically sanctioned the building of the fort before it was carried out and whatever had been done was done with the concurrence of all his colleagues. He even offered to proceed to Bantam after giving up his Agency, and recommended that Day should take his place as Agent during his absence. He actually sailed for Bantam in August 1642 and thence to England at the end of that year. Nor was Day at all happy. Immediately after he was given charge of Madras, he applied to be relieved. He served as Agent till 1644 when

* Letter from the Surat Council, dated 27th January, 1642.

he was succeeded by Thomas Ivie from Bantam. Cogan was required by the Directors to justify himself for his action at Madras and was exonerated by a committee of inquiry. He underwent various vicissitudes in his subsequent life, but ultimately contrived to become a Knight and a Baronet. He has not been given adequate credit for his share in the founding of Fort St. George. As Colonel Davison Love says: "It is true that Day projected the new settlement, conducted the preliminary negotiations, chose the site, and obtained the Naik's grant; but Cogan, his superior officer, was present from the beginning of the occupation and was mainly responsible for the erection of the fort and the colonization of the place."*

His share in the founding of Madras

On the same matter the authoritative judgment of Sir William Foster may be read with benefit by the reader. "It would not be fair to quit the subject without pointing out that to Cogan is due at least a share of the credit usually given to Day for the establishment of Fort St. George. It is true that the project originated with the latter, and that its successful accomplishment was largely due to his energy and perseverance, but it is equally certain that it would never have been carried out, had he not been supported and assisted by Cogan; and it was the latter, as the superior officer, who took the responsibility, and in fact to a large extent actually directed the work, especially after Day's departure towards the close of 1640. This is fully recognised in the letter from Bantam quoted on p. 22; and that it was also remembered at Madras itself is shown by an entry in Puckle's Diary, 1675-76† where, speaking of Cogan's son, the writer adds: "whose Father built Fort St. George." Nowadays, however, Cogan is quite forgotten, and Day gets all the praise."‡

Opinion of Sir William Foster about Cogan

* H. Davison Love's "Vestiges of Old Madras"; Vol. I, page 58.

† Factory Records; Masulipatam, Vol. 12,

‡ "The Founding of Fort St. George, Madras", by William Foster, p. 24.

The fate of Day

"Little is known of Francis Day's subsequent career. He was in England in 1646, when the Company fined him £500 for private trading; and six years later he gave evidence in case before a Court of Committees. At this point he sinks into an oblivion which is nowhere more absolute than in the great city whose site he selected and whose foundations he helped to establish. Neither Cogan nor Day is kept in memory by statue, portrait, or place-name. Not even does the Secretariat building in the Fort, the successor of the old Factory House, bear a tablet to commemorate the achievements of the joint founders of Madras."*

* "Vestiges of Old Madras", by H. Davison Love, Vol. I, p. 62.

II

ORIGINAL SITE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT

The existing village of Madraspatam

We saw that Damarla Venkatappa and his brother Aiyappa were instrumental in getting for the English the grant of the site of Fort St. George. It is important to get a clear idea of exact extent of territory first conveyed under the grant of the Nayak. The first offer made to Day by the Nayak was that of a plot of ground on which to build a fort. The subsequent grant, conveyed documentarily to the English, was dated 22nd of August 1639, and gave them authority to erect a fort "in or about Madraspatam." The implication therefore is that the territory granted constituted an area which was contained within the limits of the existing village of Madraspatam.

The site of the Fort

The fort was actually built on the spit of land enclosed between the Cooum river where it falls into the sea and another river (then known as the North or Elambore River and now known as Cochrane's Canal) first running north to south close by the present Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway line and its Central Station, about a mile distant from the coast, till it bent towards the east at the south-western angle of the grounds of the present General Hospital; it then took an easterly course and when nearing the west glacis of the fort, turned south again till it met the Cooum River at its mouth.

The Cooum and North Rivers

The Island formed

The bend of the North River at the south-western extremity of the General Hospital grounds (*i.e.*, near the present Stanley Viaduct) was within less than a furlong and a half of the Cooum river as it ran its winding course by the northern and eastern sides of Chintadripettah. Sometime before the end of the 17th century, a canal was cut, joining the Cooum with the North River at this bend, "with the object probably of equalising flood levels." Thus was formed, even quite early in the history of the Madras

City, the Island which was literally an island, being enclosed between the Cooum, the North River and the canal connecting them and which has been a very desirable open expanse serving the city in many ways. A Madras letter, of December 1643, gives us an idea of the value of the Island ground as suitable for the manufacture of salt, and as "situated in the river under the command of the castle, whereon is likely to be made a great quantity of salt yearly, which is one of the constantest commodities in all these eastern parts, and much monies are got thereby everywhere."

The site chosen by Day and Cogan for the actual building of their fort was thus the bank of ground which lay between the North River as it flowed southward to join the Cooum at its mouth and the sea, about two furlongs north of the actual outlet and a little to the south of the existing village of Madraspatam. There was a small fishing hamlet (or *kuppam*) composed of a number of fishermen's huts, probably a little to the south of it, *i.e.*, about the present Victory Memorial grounds.

Probable extent of the grant

Village boundaries do not generally change their alignment for centuries; and we have no reason to suppose that it was otherwise in the case of the limits of Madraspatam. The earliest map that we have of the ground round the Fort is dated 1733. It contained not only the site included in the limits of the grant made in 1639, but also a jungly piece of land, called *Narimēdu* (the Jackal Mound) which was acquired within a few years after the foundation of the settlement. The village site of Madraspatam, including *Narimēdu,* covered the present Fort and Island ground and a plot of land to the north and northwest. "The whole area extended inland to the point connecting the Cooum and the North River, then followed the latter for a distance of 1,000 yards, curved inland again forming a concave area to the river. It then came back to the river near the present Basin Bridge, struck for some distance towards the coast and then turned north for a distance of about 2,000 yards

and finally it travelled east again to the sea." The total length of the tract enclosed in these limits was about 3¼ miles from north to south; and its mean width was about a mile. This is held to be the probable extent of territory granted by the Nayak in 1639, exclusive of the portion added by the Narimedu grant.

The earliest Fort and Factory House

The Fort was planned as a square enclosure and provided with a bastion at each angle and with connecting walls; the walls were 108 yards in length from north to south and 100 yards from east to west. The Factory House was situated in the centre of the square; and according to the plan of an English traveller, Dr. Fryer who visited the place in 1673, it had a domed ceiling and was situated diagonally to the square so that each face of the house fronted the gorge of a bastion and an angle of the walls. The bastions themselves were built of brick in mud and cased with iron-stone or laterite. All the four bastions were completed at some time after 1642; but the curtain walls connecting them took longer to construct; and it was only in 1654 that all the walls came to be completed.

The construction of the Outer Fort.

Several houses were raised immediately outside the area of this square fort enclosure for the residence of the European inhabitants of the place. In course of time the Capuchin missionaries who had settled in Madras as early as 1641 at the request of the inhabitants, built a church to the north side of the Fort. In order to protect the fort and the houses of the Europeans, outworks came to be built in the shape of four outer bastions enclosing an irregular quadrilateral, two of the bastions being on the shore-ward side and two on the bank of the river to the west. The first bastion to be erected was at the north-eastern angle; the next was at the south-eastern extremity. Walls of masonry structure and of some height, but of no great thickness, came to be subsequently raised on the south, east and north sides in order to connect the four bastions; the western side being protected by the North River, there was no need felt of a wall on that side. The area included by these outer walls and

bastions came to be known as the Outer Fort, while the original walled enclosure round the Factory House was called the Castle. The Factory House was in the centre of the Castle; the European houses adjoined the Castle on its north and south sides and were enclosed in the Outer Fort. The European quarter soon came to be differentiated from the Indian town which rose up to the north of the Outer Fort and was called the Christian Town, also subsequently known as the White Town. Beyond and to the north to the Christian Town, the Indian town grew up, which came to be known as the Black Town and which extended on the northern side up to the present China Bazaar Road flanking the Esplanade and on the western side up to the southern continuation of the present Broadway. The Indian Town was also protected by an earthen wall or rampart on the north and west sides. There was no necessity for any protecting wall for it on the east by the sea-side and on the south where it adjoined the Christian Town. There were gates leading from the Outer Fort into the Indian Town on the north and to the sea on the east, besides gates leading out of the Indian Town towards the north and west. Thus within the first 30 years of the establishment of the settlement, Madras came to be composed of three distinct parts; (1) the Inner Fort or Castle enclosing the Factory House and defended by four corner bastions connected by curtained walls; (2) the Outer Fort enclosing the Inner Fort and the European quarter, also protected by four corner bastions and by walls on three sides with two gates on the north side leading into the Indian Town; and (3) the Indian Town on the north, protected by an earthen wall also pierced by gates.

The Christian and Indian Towns

The three parts of early Madras

Let us now turn to descriptions of Madras as they appear in contemporary accounts during this epoch. Thus, Daniel Havart, one of the few early travellers whose recorded account of early Madras has come down to us and who visited the city

Contemporary pictures of Madras

probably between 1670 and 1678, writes as follows:—" Having passed the Mount, one arrives at the town of Madraspatam, which is very strongly built like a castle in the European manner, and provided with four bastions. Inside, there is a little fort, also with four bastions, built of iron-stone, but without a moat. Within dwells the English Governor and certain English of note. The remaining English (for they possess the whole town) live outside, or in the city; the Castle is called St. George."

I. Of Havart

Dr. John Fryer, Surgeon to the East India Company, lived in Madras for some time, just before the monsoon season of 1673, in the course of his eastern travels which lasted for ten years between 1672 and 1682. The account of his travels contains the earliest representation of the Fort that we possess. Therein we read that he landed in a *masula* boat, so peculiar to the coast and built of planks sewn together so as to yield to the waves. The fort appeared to have been a place of some strength. Thus Fryer describes Madras:—

II. Fryer's description of Madras. (1673)

"The outwork is walled with stone a good height, thick enough to blunt a cannon-bullet, kept by half a dozen ordnance at each side the water-gate (the Sea Gate at the middle point of the eastern wall of the Outer Fort which enclosed the Christian Town), besides an Half-moon (a semi-circular battery near the Sea Gate) of five guns. At both points are mounted twelve guns eyeing the sea, Maderas, and St. Thomas; under these in a line stand Pallisadoes (palisades) reaching from the wall to the sea and hedge in at least a mile (obviously an exaggeration; the length of the Christian Town, from north to south, was about a third of a mile) of ground. On the. south side they have cut a ditch a sufficient depth and breadth to prevent scaling the wall, which is a quarter of mile in length afore it meets with a third point or Bastion (the south-west bastion of the Outer Fort known as the Round Point) facing St. Thomas (San Thomé) and the adjacent fields who suffer a deluge when the rains descend the hills. From this point to the fourth (the

north-west bastion, afterwards called Caldera Point) where are lodged a dozen guns more that grin upon Maderas, runs no wall but what the inhabitants compile for their gardens and houses planted all along the river parallel with that that braves the sea. From the first point a curtain (the northern wall of the Outer Fort, which separated the Christian Town from the native city) is drawn with a parapet; beneath it are two gates (these gates in the north curtain were named Middle Gate and Choultry Gate, the latter being west of the former) and sally ports to each for to enter Maderas: over the gates five guns run out their muzzles and two more within them on the ground.

Of the fortifications

"Over all these the Fort itself (the Inner Fort) lifts up its four turrets (towers or lofty bastions) every point of which are loaded with ten guns alike. On the south-east point (the south-east angle continued to be the position of the flag-staff even after the Inner Fort was replaced by the Fort Square in 1714) is fixed the standard. The forms of the bastions are square sending forth curtains fringed with battlements from one to the other; in whose interstitiums whole culverin (5½-inch 18-pounder guns) are traversed. The Governor's House (Factory House) in the middle overlooks all, slanting diagonally (doubtless for defensive purposes each face of the house commanding the interior of a bastion of the Inner Fort. When rebuilt in 1693, the house was placed square with the Inner Fort within the court)........

Of the Inner Fort

"The streets are sweet and clean, ranked with fine mansions of no extraordinary height (because a garrison town) though beauty, which they conciliate by the battlements and terrace walks on every house, and rows of trees before their doors whose *Italian* porticos make no ordinary conveyance into their houses built with brick and stone......

"The number of the English here may amount to three hundred; of Portuguese as many thousand, who made Fort St. George their refuge when they were routed from St. Thomas

by the Moors about ten years past (in 1662) and have ever since lived under protection of the English.

"Thus have you the limits and condition of the *English* Town. Let us now pass the pale (north curtain of the Outer Fort) to the Heathen Town, only parted by a wide Parade (called in Thomas Pitt's map 'the Buzar of Market,' and being a wide street or space dividing the native city from the Christian Town) which is used for a Buzzar (from Pers. Bazar, a street of shops, a market) or Mercate-place."

Of the Indian Town

"Madras, (the native city like the Christian Town was quadrangular. Its boundaries were: N., the present China Bazar; S., the inner north wall of modern Fort St. George; E., the sea; W., a line parallel to the shore, extending from the end of Popham's Broadway to a point near the present sally-port on the north-west glacis, where it struck the then course of the river), then divides itself into divers long streets, and they are checquered by as many transverse. It enjoys some Choultries for places of justice; one Exchange (the Exchange was situated at the Market Place), one Pagod (the temple built by Timmanna).*

The whole of the Indian town was walled with mud buttressed by bastions. To the west of the Indian Town there flowed a drainage channel, down the line of the present Broadway and then across the present Esplanade which ran into the North River. To the west of the stream (*i.e.*, in the present crowded area west of the Flower Bazaar) there was the Washerman's Town wherein the Company's cloth was bleached before export. Thus the present George Town in its southern portion, now so crowded with bazaars and close-packed houses, was then a spacious suburb of the town proper and was strewn with shady gardens of the English merchants who liked to spend their leisure hours in them. Fryer also remarks that the power of the English extended "as far as their guns could reach"; and the

* Extracted from pp. 281-284 of H. Davison Love's 'Vestiges of Old Madras', Vol. I. Refer also to 'A New Account of East India and Persia', by J. Fryer (1698).

Indian traders of the town were "mostly Gentues (Telugus) "forty Moors, having hardly co-habitation with them, though of the natives, 30,000 are employed in this their monopoly."*

A Spanish priest, named Dominic Navarette, who probably visited Madras about 1678, tells us that Fort St. George was "a noble fort"; and the English allowed a public church to be kept by two French Capuchins who were favoured. He admired the climate of Madras which he deemed to be "excellent" and said that "any nice man may live there," the conveniency of buying cloths is great, all those people living upon it."

III. Notice of Madras by Navarette

We have also an account by Captain Dampier who visited Madras, stayed therein some months in 1690 and wrote a narrative of his travels which was published in 1699. He was pleased with the prospect that Madras presented to the traveller approaching it from the sea. "For it stands in a plain sandy spot of ground close to the shore, the sea sometimes washing its wall which are of stone and high, with half-moons and flankers, and a great many guns mounted on the battlements; so that what with the wall and fine buildings within the Fort, the large town of Maderas without it, the pyramids of the English tombs, houses and gardens adjacent, and the variety of fine trees scattered up and down, it makes as agreeable a landskip (lanscape) as I have any where seen." †

IV. Dampier's account

* Fryer says that outside the English town was situated the English burial-place, which he calls the Golgotha, presenting a variety of tombs, walks and sepulchres. The burial ground noted above was near the north-west angle of the Indian Town and formed part of the then Company's Garden, being the site of the present Law College, which still preserves two monuments belonging to those days (*viz.* a circular masonry wall belonging to the Powney family which was one of the most ancient families of English merchants resident in Madras and an obelisk built over a chamber which holds tablets to the memory of Joseph Hynmers and David Yale). It is surmised by Col. Love that the tombs occupied the floor of a long battlemented cloister which had arches on each side supported by pillars; and the roof of which consisted of a series of tombs, each tomb rising from a square base of four columns and terminating in a ball carrying ornamental iron work.

† "A New Voyage round the World" (1699).

V. Bowrey's picture

Thomas Bowrey, who came to Madras in 1669 and left a record of his experiences,* says, that the Fort and Town of Madras constituted a considerable place, very well fortified and surrounded with strong bulwarks, points and batteries. Many Portuguese from San Thomé were admitted to dwell in the town; some of them were eminent merchants and a number of them were allowed to bear arms in the Company's service as private sentinels, but not admitted to any officer's place. The Fort had the full benefit of the sea breeze. Bowrey remarked that the fresh gales of May and June had something sulphurous in them, which, he thought, should be attributed to the wind itself more than to the heat of the sun. The natives are mostly "gentiles, commonly called *gentucs* (Telugus) and *mallabars* (Tamils), many of which live within the outmost walls of this place called Fort St. George. I have heard it reported and can well give credit thereto, that there are not less than fourty thousand of them, *viz.*, men, women and children that live under St. George's flag, and pay customs for all sorts of goods they buy and sell within the compass or command of our guns."

The Catholic Church in the Fort

It was during Cogan's rule that a Capuchin Mission was established at Madras for the benefit of the Catholic residents, who were mostly of Portuguese origin. The Mission was allowed to build a church-house to the north side of the Inner Fort. Its first priest was Father Ephraim de Nevers, who had been originally commissioned to go to Pegu, but being invited to stay on at Madras, was willing enough to do so. Father Ephraim built the Church and dedicated it to St. Andrew. His flock included not only the Catholic residents of Fort St. George, but many others from San Thomé also. He was reputed to be a very holy man; and his services were frequently availed of in the settlement of the disputes that arose between Madras and San Thomé. He maintained a school in his residence for the

* "The Countries round the Bay of Bengal," Bowrey, ed. by Sir Richard Temple, Hak. Soc., 1905.

children of the White Town, including several of English birth. He even translated the Gospels into Portuguese in the form of a Catechism for the use of his pupils. He was a polished linguist and knew several European languages besides Persian, Arabic and the principal tongues of the country.

The provision for Protestant worship

The needs of the Protestants of the settlement received attention only in 1646. The Protestant factors and soldiers of the settlement desired the provision of a Chaplain "to be here with them for the maintenance of their soules' health" (October 1645). Master Isaacson arrived at Madras from Surat towards the end of 1647 and became the first Resident Chaplain of Fort St. George. When he went back to Surat after about a year, no body was sent out to fill his place immediately. The next Minister did not stay much larger. Soon Isaacson was back again as Chaplain at Madras; he tried to stop the ministrations of the Roman Catholic priests to the families of such Englishmen as had taken Portuguese wives and loudly complained of their seductive activities. The Governor was in a dilemma, as, if he should send out the (Catholic) *Padres*, he feared "that the Portuguese soldiers would have deserted in a body and would only consent to ask them to keep their ceremonies within their own walls" and "not to try to seduce the soldiers or anyone else 'from our congregation'." This was in 1660. A suggestion was made by Baxter, the eminent Nonconformist divine, that the English merchants in India should try to propagate the Christian religion by distributing copies of a pamphlet containing an explanation of its principles. The Directors were cautious; the times were uncertain and the prospects of the Company were not rosy. But the suggestion was made for the first time that the Company should give the natives of India a knowledge of Christianity. Several Anglican ministers came and returned; provision was made for the starting of a library containing useful books and for distributing copies of the Catechism to the school children. Daily prayers were offered in the Factory House. But still there was no

separate Church or Chapel till the time of Streynsham Master when St. Mary's Church was built in the Fort.

The Hindus had naturally several great temples of note in the neighbourhood of Madras like the Vaishnava shrine of Triplicane and the Saiva shrines of Mylapore and Tiruvottiyur. We do not find the mention of any Hindu temple in the settlement of Madras itself till we come to the records of 1652.

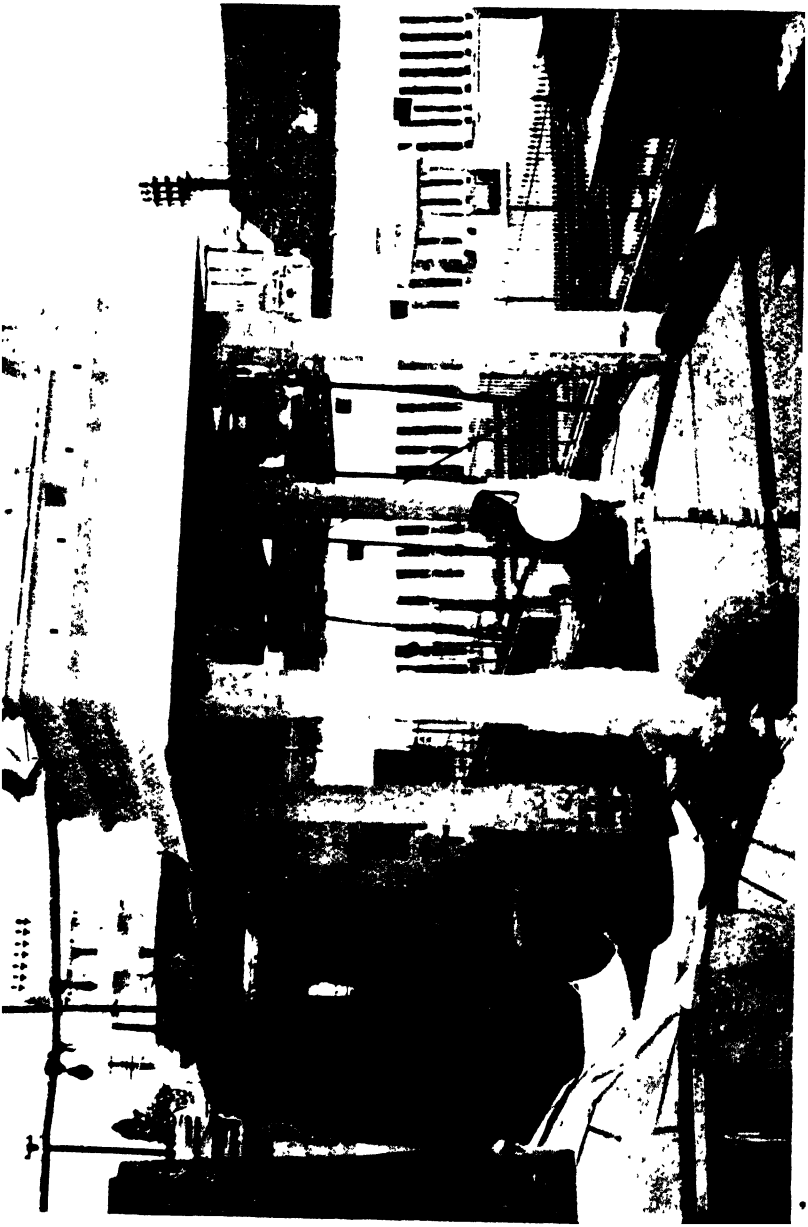
The town temple

In the map drawn by the order of Governor Thomas Pitt in 1710, we find noted several Hindu temples, of which one is marked the Great Pagoda, in the middle of Black Town immediately to the north of the Fort; and three other temples are also marked, one in the suburb of Muthialpet to the north of the Old Black Town and two in Peddanaickenpet or Comarpet, marked respectively as Allingall's Pagoda and Loraine's Pagoda. Dr. Fryer visited the Great Pagoda in Old Black Town and described it as being surrounded by a square stone wall comprehending several chapels inside, the largest of them closed up with arches and containing the idol of the deity. The walls contained good sculptures of Hindu mythological scenes, some of which were held to be obscene by the English observer. The floor was made up of stone flags, the pillars were slender, straight and round, plain and uniform up to the top where "some hieroglyphical portraiture lends its assistance to the roof, flat with stones laid along like planks upon our rafters." Fryer further observes that the floor of the chapels was stained with oil used in the lamps. The outside portion of the walls were also covered with effigies; and the gate surmounted by the usual tower or gopuram was the highest part of the temple.

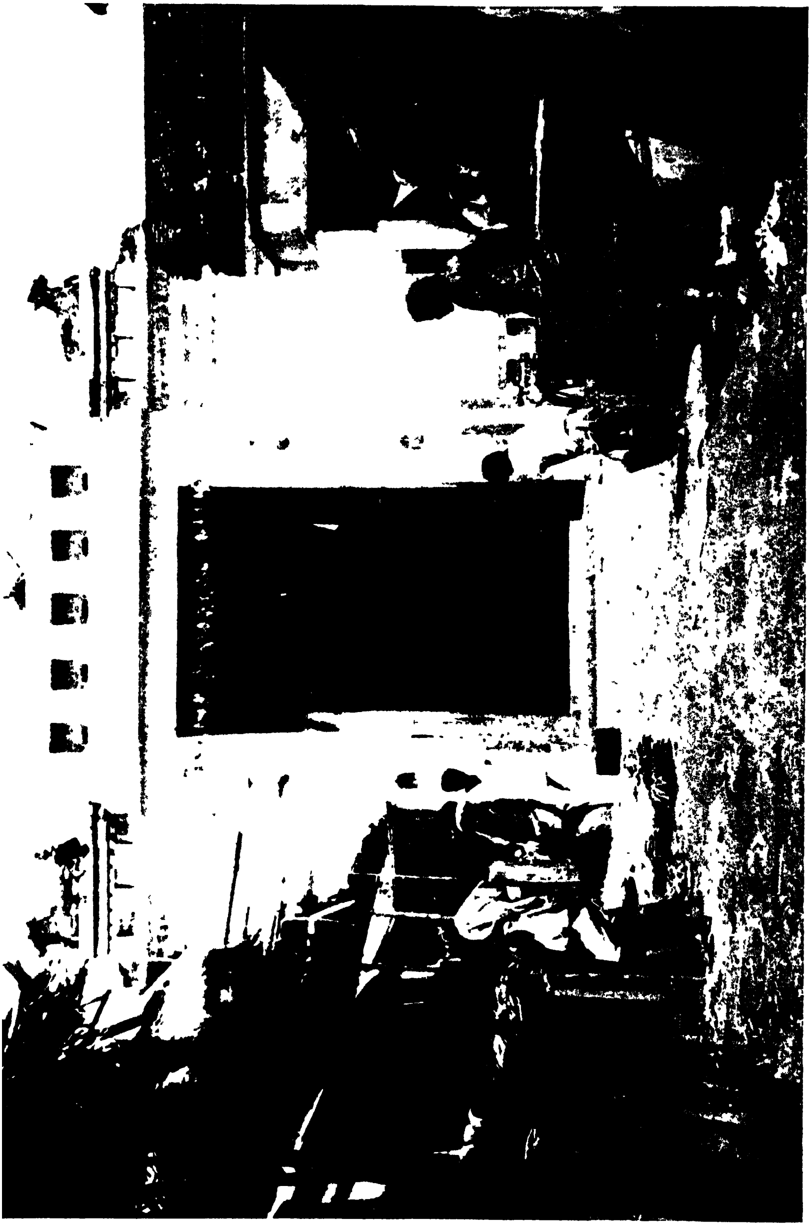
Its builders

The tradition is that Beri Timmanna who assisted the English in their settlement of Madras and Nagabattan, who came down from Armagon as the Company's gun-powder maker, both gave endowments to this temple, even as early as 1648 and 46 respectively. Timmanna is held to have constructed two pagodas dedicated to Chennakesava

CHENNAKESAVA PERUMAL TEMPLE



MALLIKARJUNA TEMPLE.



Perumal and Chenna Malleswara, even in the very first years of the settlement. Timmanna's deed of gift, dated April 1648 tells that he built the Chenna Kesava Perumal Kovil and endowed it with *mānyam, i.e.,* free grant of land, ground and other privileges which were transferred to Narayanappa Aiyar, who was probably the Brahman priest in charge of the worship of the temple. Likewise, the grant of Nagabattan, made two years earlier, mentions Narayanappa Aiyar as being the person to whom gifts were made. Beri Timmanna occupied the place of the chief of the Indian merchants engaged in the affairs of the English Agent and was termed in some documents as the Captain of Madras. One of the descendants of Beri Timmanna's clan, by name Bundla Ramaswami Naidu, was an official in the Revenue Department and wrote in 1820 a memoir on the revenue system of Madras, wherein he declared that his ancestor Timmappa was the builder of the temple of Madraspatam. This great pagoda was later on demolished about the middle of the 18th century on account of military exigencies, but was replaced in a few years by the existing Town Temple housing the twin gods Chenna Kesava and Chennai Malleswara and standing near the present Flower Bazaar.

Other Hindu temples

The temple in Muthialpet marked on the map of 1710 was perhaps the Mallikesvarar Temple, now standing at the north end of that pettah. It is referred to in a document of 1652 as "Mally Carjuns Old Pagoda." Allingall's Pagoda was the nucleus of the present Ekambareswarar shrine in Mint Street and was built by Alangatha Pillai, one of the Company's prominent merchants, towards the close of the 17th century. Alangatha Pillai was the assistant chief merchant of the Company at the time when the Municipal Corporation of Madras was founded in 1687-8.

III

MADRAS AND THE COUNTRY POWERS— THE GRANT OF SRIRANGA RAYA ADVANCE OF GOLCONDA

The disturbed condition of the Hindu power in the land (1615-30)

THE Madras coast continued to be under the effective control of the Rayas of Chandragiri only till 1645-46. Venkatapathi Maharaya (1586-1614 A.D.) was the last effective ruler of the Hindu Empire. The civil war that followed his death in which Sriranga, his nephew who had been rightfully nominated to the succession, had to fight with a formidable combination of the rebellious feudatory rulers, resulted in the imprisonment of the new Raya, along with his family, and in their subsequent death. In the course of the civil war which lasted for two years, Ramadeva, a son of Sriranga, who had escaped imprisonment by the rebel chiefs, was proclaimed king by Yachama Nayak of Venkatagiri, the head of the loyalist nobles. Yachama was able, after some time, to overcome and destroy his chief rival, Jagga Raya who was the head of the disloyal chiefs, in the famous battle of Toppur, near the Grand Anicut on the Kaveri. The Nayaks of Madura and Gingee had taken the rebel side, while the ruler of Tanjore remained faithful to the rightful king. Ramadeva Raya married, subsequently, the daughter of Ethiraja, a brother of Jagga Raya, the principal rebel; and he (Ethiraja) contrived to obtain great influence at the Raya's court. Consequently there was continuous unrest among the nobles throughout the reign of Ramadeva (died 1630). Ethiraja became the master of Pulicat (Pralaya Kaveri), near which the Dutch had built a settlement (Pulicat or Fort Geldria). Ethiraja had plenty of trouble with the European powers settled on the coast in his dominions, *viz.*, the Dutch at Pulicat and the Portuguese at San Thomé.

The premature death of Ramadeva Raya in 1630 led to another disputed succession to the throne and to a second civil

war in the Hindu Empire. Ramadeva had nominated a cousin of his, by name Peda Venkata, to be his successor; but this decision was disputed by his uncle who kept the nominee in his custody for some time. The great Nayak chiefs of the Tamil country favoured Venkata, who was also ably assisted by a nephew of his, Sriranga by name. Venkata's position on the throne became secure and stable only in 1635, when he freed himself from tutelage. He resided at the fort of Vellore which was consequently called Raya Velur; but his reign was not wholly peaceful. His own nephew, Sriranga, who had greatly helped him in the beginning, now turned against him for some reason or another, intrigued with the Sultan of Bijapur who had directed his attacks on South India and had already taken possession of Kurnool in 1624. Two invasions by the Muhammadans of Bijapur were now directed against Venkata's dominions, the first in 1638 and the second in 1641. Venkata succeeded in buying off the enemy on the first occasion by giving him a large quantity of money and jewels. On the second occasion, he was fortunately helped by the Nayaks of the south. The greatest of these Nayaks was Tirumala of Madura (1629-59) who was ever harbouring treacherous designs against his overlord. It was only on very critical occasions when Tirumala felt his own position endangered, did he come up to the rescue of his overlord. The Nayak of Tanjore had, on the other hand, always remained loyal from the time of the first civil war; indeed, he was primarily instrumental in rescuing Ramadeva from the hands of his enemies and in setting him up on the throne in 1617. But the Tanjore and Madura rulers quarrelled as between themselves whenever any opportunity offered.

Rule of Venkatapathi Raya (1630-42)

Throughout the reign of Venkatapathi Raya, the administration was carried on to a large extent with the help of his brothers-in-law, the Vélugóti chiefs of Kalahasti. We have knowledge of three of them, namely, Damarla Venkatappa, Damarla Ayyappa and another Anka, who was less known, but was a literary figure and

The Damarla Brothers

the author of a Telugu work, 'Ushāpariṇayam.' Venkatappa generally remained along with the Raya at his court and was the actual administrator of the kingdom. His province of Wandiwash was actually managed for him by his brother Ayyappa who held the government of Poonamallee, a fort thirteen miles to the west of Madras. It was from these two brothers that the English obtained the grant of Fort St. George, which, in the Company's records, is ascribed to "Damarla Moodu Venkatappa Naick, son of Damarla Chenama Nayak, the Grand Vizier of the fore-said sovereign, *i.e.*, the Raya, and Lord General of Carnatica."

Damarla Venkatappa was a person of considerable influence and was too strong for the Dutch or the Portuguese of the coast to resist successfully against. Dutch Records put the yearly revenue of the Nayak's districts at 600,000 *pardaos* (= half *huns* or pagodas). These records also say that Ayyappa Nayak was the brother-in-law of the then king of Carnatica, *i.e.*, Venkatapathi Raya. These brothers were not very eager to support the succession of Sriranga to the throne after Venkatapathi; they had probably brought about a union of several chiefs to resist his succession.

Accession of Sriranga Raya (1642) and his difficulties

Sriranga was, however, able to occupy the throne within a month or two of the death of his predecessor in October 1642, in spite of opposition. Even before Venkatapathi's death, the Golconda Sultan had laid hands on the coast districts to the north of Pulicat, while the Bijapur generals had advanced very threateningly from the Carnatic Balaghat to the coast. Sriranga, the new Raya, endeavoured to pursue a vigorous policy of resistance to the Muhammadans on the basis of an effective combination of all the Hindu forces on the south. He first wanted to put down the inveterate treachery of the Madura Nayak who thereupon entered into an agreement with his brother Nayaks of Tanjore and Gingee in order to prevent his own ruin at the hands of the Raya. But the Nayak of Tanjore betrayed the plan to the Raya and frustrated it. When

Tirumala Nayak failed in his effort to bring about a combination of himself with his colleagues, he turned to Golconda for assistance and urged that the latter power should direct an attack on Vellore from the north. It was now that the growing power of the Nayak of Ikkeri on the west came to the assistance of the Raya and caused the Golconda troops to raise the siege of the Raya's capital (1643-44). It was also now only that Sriranga realised, more than ever, that he should unite the Hindus of the South or else lose all.

The English resolve to send an embassy to him.

On the accession of Sriranga Raya, Damarla Venkatappa had been dismissed from his position of authority at the capital; and he now created trouble by intriguing with the Golconda generals and had to be put under arrest on suspicion of treachery. But Ayyappa, his brother, who continued to be in power, brought pressure to bear on the Raya and endeavoured hard to get his release (1643-44). The Dutch records for that year mention the occupation of Venkatagiri by the Golconda troops and also the release and reinstatement of Damarla Venkatapathi in his previous position. It was now that Sriranga sought the assistance of the Bijapur generals stationed in the Carnatic Balaghat, by promising them 1500,000 pagodas and 24 elephants. It was also now that the English at Madras made their first move to get from Sriranga a confirmation of their charters previously got from the Damarla brothers. The position then was that Sriranga had got an initial success against Golconda and had overcome the rebellion of Damarla Venkatappa and was, consequently, secure for the time. It was then that the English merchant, Greenhill, paid a visit to Vellore where the Raya was then resident and obtained a royal charter confirming the grant of Fort St. George.

Their previous attitude

The Records of Fort St. George give us the following information about the confusion prevailing in the Raya's kingdom in the early years of Sriranga's rule. (*vide* their letter to Bantam, dated 4th January 1643). "This country being all in broils

the old king of Karnatic being dead; so is the Nayak of Armagon, whose country is all in the hands of the Moors, and who will ere long by all likelihood be masters of all this country; for our Nayak, not finding the respect from the new king as he expected, did make proffer to assist the Moors, but ere he could bring his treason about, 'twas discovered, he (was) apprehended by the king, who hath seized a great part of his country; but we believe he will be forced suddenly to restore it again and release him, for our Nayak's brother and kinsmen are levying an army for his rescue, who, with the help of the Moors on the other side (who are within half a day's journey of each other), will force his liberty or ruin the whole kingdom."

The English at Madras very cleverly planned to send no *péshkash* (*nazar* or congratulatory offering) to the new king on his accession, though the Dutch had sent one to the value of 4,000 pagodas and the Portuguese a small present. They resolved to await further developments. "Somewhat is expected from us; but until our Nayak and the king be either reconciled or absolutely outed, we intend to stand upon our guard and keep what we have."

The hostile designs of Mallai Chetty

In January 1644, the English at Madras learnt that Damarla Venkatappa Nayak had been finally and irrevocably disgraced by the Raya and his place had been given to Mallai (*alias* Chinna) Chetty, an influential merchant through whom the Dutch had been conducting their transactions with Indians. The Dutch now assisted Mallai with troops and guns for the purpose of subduing the forts still in the possession of the younger Damarla Nayak who was hostile to them; and it was feared that Mallai would soon be the effective lord of all the coast. The Portuguese at San Thomé did not matter; and it was feared that, as the Dutch boasted that they intended to take San Thomé on the return of their fleet, perhaps the Portuguese might be driven out of the coast altogether. Mallai put up a bold front and aimed at the over-lordship of Madras; he also demanded that he should be paid half the profits accruing from its customs, in the place of

the Damarla Nayak. The English naturally feared that if the claim of Mallai should be admitted, Madras would be ruined as the Dutch would raise the customs rates in order to work mischief to their rivals. The English therefore resolved not to give up any of their rights and even to retaliate on Mallai for any molestation that he might subject them to.

The advance of the Golconda forces (1644)

The situation however improved in a few months. The fear of aggression on the part of Mallai passed away. But a new danger appeared instead. Golconda was steadily pressing along the coast southwards; and although pushed back for the time, it was still threatening the country round Fort St. George. The letter of the factors to the Company, dated 8th September 1644, said:—"The Moors but five weeks past had advanced with their arms within three miles of Pulicat and sent unto the Dutch Governor to surrender up their castle; and we did suddenly expect the same; but shortly after the Jentues (Raya's troops) came down with a great power, gave the Moors battle, routed their army and put the Moors to flight beyond Armagon, where they are now gathering a head again, so the danger that we live in is yet unknown."

A change in the situation

Within a year, however, the Madras factors were able to write to Surat that Mallai and the Dutch had quarrelled and the Dutch governor of Pulicat had imprisoned Mallai's people and taken away his goods on pretence that he owed some money to the Dutch Company. Sriranga Raya was now helping Mallai against the Dutch and was in a position to prosecute the siege of Pulicat with a considerable force. Mallai was said to be in such favour with the Raya that "he ruleth both king and country." The English tried to fish for themselves in these troubled waters and purchased a quantity of chintz and other cloth from Mallai who had seized them from the Dutch—paying of course at a lower price. They urged to be provided with shipping and monies for the maintenance of their credit, and hoped that, with the help of Seshadri Chetty, their chief merchant, who

was a very close friend of Mallai and who expected to be made head merchant in the Raya's territory, they would soon be able to ruin the trade of their rivals. The Dutch at Pulicat contended that Mallai had no authority to make war upon them and consequently the English were simply receiving stolen goods that had been wrongfully seized from them and therefore they would take measures to search the English ships and recover any Dutch goods that might be found on board. The English at Madras, *i.e.,* Agent Ivie and his colleagues, resolved to appeal to the now friendly Raya to declare that Mallai had only legally acted under his orders in seizing the goods of the Dutch. They judged it prudent to get the Raya's confirmation of the privileges that had been granted to them by his predecessor and by the Damarla brothers. They therefore sent up Mr. Henry Greenhill to Vellore where the Raya was then residing, for the reconfirmation of "what was granted unto Mr. Cogan by the great Nayak, under whose protection formerly we lived, but now the king hath taken his power and this country from him, so that his power and protection is of no longer value."

The Raya becomes friendly

Their letter said that Sriranga's authority was stronger than ever and that he had brought all his great lords under his command "which hath not been this forty years before." The English held that Mallai's command under the Raya was legal and his operations against the Dutch equally so. Before the letter of the factors containing this resolution was despatched, the Raya had indeed sent a message to them asking them to assist in the operations against Pulicat and to buy the goods that his men had already taken from the Dutch. He also approved of their proposal to send Henry Greenhill as their envoy to his court. The Raya's letter, as translated from Telugu into English and sent by the Madras factors to their superiors, is endorsed "The king of Bissnageree letter to the Agent in Madrasapatam" and runs as follows:—

The Raya seeks the help of the English

Arlour (Vellore), the 25th September, 1645.

Zree Seringo Raylo, King of Kings, also in his kingdome, in Armes invincible, etc., unto the Captain of the English these: The Hollanders, who have their residence in Pulicat not valuing my letters, hath constrained mee to commence a war against them, the charge whereof is committed unto Chenana Chetty (Mallai) whom you are to assist therein with artillery, powder, shot, fireworks, and in so doing you shall pleasure us. Whatever goods appertained unto the Hollanders in my kingdom, I account it as my peculiar and proper wealth; which being all come to Madrasapatam, we will that you buy and pay monies for the same, proceeding therein as Chenana Chetty (Mallai) and Seradra (Seshadri Chetty),* shall prescribe, not failing at all in its performance. And whereas I am given to understand by Chenana Chetty that you intend to send up a man of quality into us, am very well pleased, for that you have always esteemed by ordinances; and as Chenana Chetty will advise, so shall you be sure to receive content, nor be you induced to believe the contrary, but confide upon our word and hast to visit us by your second and whomsoever else you send along with him; for whose secure repair unto our court this our Farman shall suffice. As for other matters Chenana Chetty will advise you."

His offer.

Greenhill paid a visit to Sriranga Raya either at Vellore or at Chandragiri and obtained a *cowle, i.e.,* grant or permit, for the possession of Madras. A letter from the factors to Surat, dated the 21st January 1646, tells us that Greenhill had returned from the king, having effected what he went for and got some addition to the privileges confirmed by him. There are available now three contemporary copies of the *cowle,* the first of which is supposed to be the original enclosure to the letter above referred to. The *cowle* is the first royal grant

The cowle granted by the Raya to the English.

* Seshadri Chetty was formerly a merchant of Porto Novo and became the Company's Merchant or Broker from 1640. He was instrumental in attracting numerous settlers to the town, collected funds for erecting the town rampart and even established a market and a paddy bazaar.

made to the English for their occupation of Madras and runs as follows:—"In the year Parthiwa, the month Kartika, the Moon in the wane, the king over all kings, the holiest and amongst all cavaliers the greatest, Sriranga Raya, the mighty King God, gives this *cowle* unto Agent Thomas Ivie, Chief Captain of the English, and the Company of that nation."

"For as much as you have left Armagon and are come to Sriranga Rayapatam my town, at first but of small esteem, and have there built a Fort and brought trade to the Port; therefore, that you may be the better encouraged to prosecute the same and amplify the town which bears our name, we do freely release you of all customs or duties upon whatsoever goods brought or sold in that place appertaining (unto) your Company. Also we grant unto your Company half of all the Customs or duties which shall be received at the Port, and the rents of the ground about the village Madraspatam; as also the Jackal ground we give you towards your charges, by way of *piscash*.

"Moreover for the better managing your business, we surrender the government and justice of the town into your hands. And if any of your neighbours of Poonamallee shall injure you, we promise you our ready assistance. And for what provisions shall be brought out of that country we will that no junken (*sunkam*) be taken thereon.

"If it fortune that any of your Company's ships shall by accident of weather or otherwise be driven ashore at that Port whatsoever can be saved shall remain your own; and the like touching all merchants that trade at the Port, if the owner comes to demand it; but if the owner be not to be found, then our officers shall seize the same to our behalf.

"We also promise still to retain the town in our protection and not subject it to the government of Poonamallee or any other Nayak. And whatsoever merchandises of yours that shall pass through the country of Poonamallee, to pay but half customs.

"In confidence of this our cowle you may cheerfully proceed in your affairs; wherein if any of our people shall molest you,

we give you our faith to take your cause into our own hands to do you right and assist you against them. And that this (your) Port and this our cowle may stand firm as long as the sun and moon.

Sree Rama."

Another version of the Raya's cowle

Copies of this grant were later on sent to Calcutta and transmitted from that place to England in a volume of papers entitled 'Letters sent from Fort William, 1713-14.' The volume itself has disappeared; but a copy of it is still available, which is an independent translation. It is useful to compare its wording with that of the cowle itself. It reads thus:—

"You have left the place called Armagon, and are come now to one of my new towns called Sriranga Rayapatnam, where you are making a fort and Bulwarks, and to do your merchandize and trade; to which purpose I give you this cowle with the following contents:—

'Touching your Company's merchandize: they shall pay no custom, neither for importing, nor exporting, any of their goods. And all what shall come in, for custom of the said town, the half shall be for your Company and the other half for the Diwan (the chief minister of state). And besides this, I do freely give to the Company the town called Madrassapatam, and all the ground (that) belongeth to it, at their disposure; and all the Government and Justice of the said town shall be exercised by you. And if any person should wrong you in any part of my country, or in the said town, in your merchandize or in any other matters, I shall take care to do you justice and right. Also, no people belonging to the Governor of Poonamallee, nor of its country, shall come, nor have anything to do in your town; neither shall you pay any Juncan (*śunkam*) for what provisions shall be brought for your Fort's use. If any of your ships should be cast ashore, you shall take all the things that shall be saved; and if any other ships belonging to any other strangers should (be) cast ashore, if there be no owners for it, then all those things that shall be saved, shall be for the Diwan's

account. And besides, the said town shall never be under the government of Poonamallee's country, nor shall be given to any other Government, but shall remain clear under the Diwan. Seeing I have given you the like cowle concerning the said town and merchandize, I shall take care that you shall in no ways be molested by no person; to which you may trust to my faith, and do your merchandize without any kind of fear'." (Fac. Rec. Misc. Vol. ix).*

Mir Jumla's victories—He secures the allegiance of Madras (1647) and confirms its privileges

We saw that Sriranga Raya's grant to the English, confirming the previous grants was dated October-November 1645. The siege of Pulicat by the Raya had begun about the middle of the previous August; and in January 1646, the English wrote that the general of the King of Golconda, Mir Jumla, had advanced with a great army and was being opposed by Mallai, who had got together a great body of soldiers including 3,000 men whom he had withdrawn from the operations on Pulicat. Sriranga Raya was now attacked on the other side by his own rebellious Nayaks of Tanjore, Madura and Gingee, who managed to inflict a severe defeat on his forces in December 1645. It was now that Mir Jumla was able to take possession of Udayagiri (a fortress in the Nellore district) from Mallai, who surrendered it, as the English report said, "upon composition for himself and all his people to go away free." Now the forces of Bijapur and

The loss of the original plate recording the cowle.

* This grant of Sriranga Raya was originally engraved, probably like the previous ones of Damarla Venkatapathi and Venkatapathi Raya, on a gold-leaf, fashioned like a *cadjan-leaf*. None of the gold plates recording these grants is now extant. On their capture of Madras in 1746, the French carried away one or more of the gold-plate cowles which were not restored. One of the gold plates was lost at sea shortly before 1693.

Damarla Venkatappa Nayak's preliminary grant was later confirmed by a cowle of Venkatapathi Raya. This third grant of Sriranga Raya contained, as we saw, additional privileges, like the authority to administer justice and the assignment of an adjacent piece of land known as the Jackal Ground. But it does not contain any reference to the power to coin money which was given even in the first grant.

Golconda joined together and laid siege to Vellore itself, the capital of the Raya, and defeated him severely in a battle under its walls. The Raya was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bijapur army; the rebellious Nayaks were persuaded to return to their allegiance. The operations against the Dutch at Pulicat ceased with the fall of Mallai from power. Mir Jumla had overrun all the land and was reported to be within two days of march of Madras on his way to Gingee; he was now the overlord of Pulicat and San Thomé and making rapid headway against the Hindu power. In October 1647, the English factors reported that the general of the king of Golconda had almost conquered this kingdom and begun to reign as king with the title of Nawab. The English had to give him a brass gun, which he would not be denied of, "whether he had lent us this money or no; otherwise he would not have confirmed our old privileges formerly granted us by the now fled Jentue King." Mir Jumla after thus securing the allegiance of the English in Madras, passed on to the siege of Gingee. The English Agent, Ivie, had lent the Nawab Mir Jumla his gunner and several of his best soldiers for the blockade of San Thomé. The English thus incurred the enmity of the Portuguese at the latter place; and though a peace was soon patched up, mutual friction continued.

Mir Jumla's strong position

Mir Jumla's campaign against Gingee was made in conjunction with the forces of Bijapur. He allowed his Bijapur ally to take possession of Gingee and Tegnapatam on the coast; and Sriranga fled to Mysore for protection. Thus Mir Jumla's authority over the coast country round Madras became fully consolidated. He had in his service a number of European gunners and cannon-founders and well appreciated the advantages of European help. He was a person of great talents, marked by "industry, rapid despatch of business, administrative capacity, military genius and inborn power of leadership." From the first, during his campaigns in the Carnatic, he strengthened himself by

securing a number of European gunners and cannon-founders and maintaining his army at a high pitch of discipline. From Cumbum he extended the dominion of Golconda, *i.e.*, his own power, to Gandikota, Chandragiri and Tirupati. His dominion in the Carnatic covered an area 300 miles long and 50 miles broad. He maintained an army of 5,000 well-mounted cavalry of his own, besides 4,000 horse of his Sultan's. His infantry troops numbered 20,000; and he had an excellent park of artillery and a large number of trained elephants.

English gains

Mir Jumla confirmed all the privileges that the English had obtained from the previous Hindu rulers when they gave him help against San Thomé. The years 1646-47 when this revolution was being effected, were marked by a great famine in the land when a large number of people died of starvation. As many as 3,000 died in Madras alone in the months September 1646 to January 1647. Pulicat suffered a loss of 15,000 and San Thomé was injured equally badly. But, on the whole, in these years, fortune did not treat the English badly. Their trade suffered from the prevailing famine and military operations. But they contrived to secure, first, the Raya's confirmation of their privileges and also to preserve the friendship of the Mussalman conqueror and get a further confirmation of their rights.

IV

MADRASPATAM AND CHENNAPATNAM—THEIR PROBABLE ORIGIN AND EXTENT

Name of Srirangarayapatnam offered for the settlement in the grant of 1645.

THE occurrence of the term "Srirangarayapatnam, my town," in the *cowle* given by Sriranga Raya in 1645, introduces an element of confusion with regard to the origin of the names, Madraspatnam and Chennapatnam. There was a view which had been prevalent ever since Walter Hamilton published his valuable account of India in 1820* that, at the time of the foundation of Madras, Sriranga Raya insisted that the settlement should be named after him as Srirangarayapatnam, but that his purpose was defeated by the local Nayak who managed to get it called after his own father, Chennappa. We know, however, that Sriranga succeeded to the throne only in 1642, fully three years after the foundation of the settlement. This was not known to Hamilton who based his view only on a perusal of the *cowle* of the Raya, a copy of which was available to him among the Madras records that he utilised. The grant of the name of Srirangarayapatnam was probably intended by the Raya as a special mark of his royal favour to the factors of Madras. Also, about the time of this grant, Damarla Venkatapathi Nayak, son of Chennappa, was in disgrace; and this might have had a share in making Sriranga alter in his grant the name Chennappapatnam to Srirangarayapatnam.

Origin of the name Chennapatnam.

The name of Chennapatnam is due to the fact that Damarla Ayyappa Nayak, when writing to Francis Day at Armagon in 1639, expressed a desire to found a town in the name of his father, Chennappa Nayak and offered the English liberal privileges if they would come and settle in it. Very probably the origin of the name came about this way. Chennappa Nayak was a famous personage in his generation. He was a brother-in-law of

* *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan and the Adjacent Countries*, in two volumes, by Walter Hamilton, Esq.

Yachama Nayak and a prominent noble at the court of Venkatapathi Raya I (1586-1614) and took possession of Vellore, on behalf of his master, after defeating its ruler, Lingama Nayak. From this time, Vellore served as the residence of the Raya and was a second capital of his kingdom. Chenna's sons attained to considerable distinction. One of them, Damarla Venkatapathi, was the chief minister of Venkatapathi Raya II (1630-42). He warred against the Nayak of Gingee and constructed a lake in the North Arcot District, which he named Chennasagaram, after his father. Another son of Chennappa was Ayyappa. Both these brothers helped the English in the acquisition of Madras. A third brother was Ankabhupala known by a Telugu work, *Ushápariṇayam* which he wrote and dedicated to his father, Chenna. Therein he says that his younger brother, Ayya, saw that the people of Praḷaya Káveri (Pulicat), the Dutch, were incessantly fighting with the people of Mylapore (the Portuguese at San Thomé) and in order to put an end to that fighting, he founded the town of Chennapatna (Madras) between them so as to prevent their mutual bickerings.

Original site of Madraspatam

The name Chennapatnam was applied from the beginning to the Indian town that grew up to the north of the English Fort which was built on the site of Madraspatnam, according to the first grant. The village called Madraspatnam was definitely mentioned even in the first grant as existing at the time when it was made. In all the available records of the time 1639-45, a difference was maintained between the original village of Madraspatam and the new town that quickly grew up in and round the Fort. To this new town the name Chennapatnam was given. Thus we may say that the village of Madraspatnam had existed under that name even prior to the English settlement of 1639-40; and the site of Chennapatnam was that of modern Fort St. George. The original village of Madraspatnam lay to the north of the site of the Fort; and within a few years of the founding of Fort St. George the new town which grew up round the Fort

came to be popularly known to the Indians as Chennapatnam, either because Damarla Venkatapathi and Ayyappa wished it to be called so or because the site might already have borne that name; more likely, the former was the truth. The intervening space between the older northern site of Madraspatnam and the new southern plot of Chennapatnam, came to be quickly built over with the houses of the new settlers as the town expanded, so that the two villages became virtually one town. The English preferred to call the two united towns by the name of Madraspatnam, with which they had been familiar from the first, while the Indians chose to give it the name of Chennapatnam. In course of time, the exact original locations of Madraspatnam and Chennapatnam came to be confused and even reversed as it was done by W. Hamilton. Madraspatnam was regarded as the site of the Fort and Chennapatnam as the Indian town to the north.

View of their location

The location of the two towns may be thus summarised. Madraspatam was in those early days clearly distinguished from the town and fort of Chennapatnam. Nawab Néknám Khan who was, in the years 1662-72, the governor of the country on behalf of Golconda, distinguishes "the place called Madraspatam from the fort and town of Chennapatnam"; probably Chennapatnam (or Srirangarayapatnam, as Sriranga would have it) indicated the new town growing up round the fort, while the older and already existing village of Madraspatnam was the separate, but approximately contiguous, village to the north. Thus we may hold that the original village of Madraspatnam lay north of and proximate to the Fort and the area immediately lying round it. The settlement which grew up round the Fort was deemed by the British from the first as part of Madraspatnam. The European quarter nearest the Fort gradually merged into the Indian town to the north from which it was separated at first by an open space and later by a wall. In due course the European town came to be known as White Town, while the Indian town to the north of it which covered both the newly

inhabited site of Chennapatnam and the existing village of Madraspatam came to be known as the Indian or as Black Town. The interval of space between Chennapatnam and Madraspatam, if ever there was any, was rapidly covered over with houses, so that the two towns really became one town. To this town, the Europeans applied the name Madraspatnam, which they had known from the first, while the Indians applied the name Chennapatnam to the Fort and town.

Use of the name Fort St. George for the fort

The name Fort St. George, so far as records could show us, is first given in a letter dated 17th July 1642. It has already been suggested that the name came to be given to the fort because a bastion or a portion of the outwork of the Inner Fort wall was probably finished by St. George's Day, *i.e.*, 23rd April of 1640—"a date which is too late for the commencement of the work and far too early for the completion of any substantial part of it." "Dedication to the Patron Saint of England was, however, sufficiently appropriate," apart from any question of date. The earliest letter extant, written from the new settlement, is dated "Forte St. George, the 17th July, at night, 1642"; but the name had already been used in a communication from Surat six months earlier; and it was even employed in the Dutch records of September 1641. Hence there is good reason for supposing that the designation was conferred on the Fort from the beginning."

Origin of the name Madraspatnam or Madras

The origin of the name Madraspatnam presents a difficult problem and has been long a puzzle. The name Madras occurs in many forms like Madraspatnam, Madras Patnam, Madrasapatnam, Madrapatnam, Madrazpatnam, etc. According to one version there was a village of fishermen on the site, the headman of which was a Christian, named Madaresan, who contrived to persuade Day to call the settlement after his own name.* But we know that the name was in use even before the

* According to one tradition, Beri Timmappa obtained by his influence the site of the factory from Madaresan, the headman of the fisherman's *kuppam*, who had it as his plantain-garden. Timmappa is

English came on the scene. Some scholars of a former generation have derived the name from the term Madrassa (a college) and think that there might have been an old Muhammadan College at the place or there might have been a church of St. Mary (Madre de Deus) at Madras prior to 1640, probably founded by the Portuguese of San Thomé which might have been in existence for some length of time; and thus the Church of Madre de Deus might have given the name to the village of Madras; or there was an Indian ruler, Maddarazu, who might have been some prominent chief ruling in the region in the past, after whom the village might have been named Madraspatnam.

Different theories

The late Very Revd. Mgr. Teixeira, Bishop of Mylapore, put forward about a decade ago a suggestion, based on his discovery of some tomb-stone inscriptions, that the name might well have originated from *Madra,* a Portuguese family settled in the village and that the family might have given their name to the place. Still another view is that Madras was so called because it produced a kind of calico cloth of the name.* None of these seem to be very convincing, while the derivation of Madras from the Persian word, *madrasa,* is very fanciful. There is a curious resemblance between the names of the English town of Madraspatnam, the southern Dutch Factory of Sadraspatnam at the mouth of the Palar and the northern settlement of Durgarazpatnam (Armagon). Patnam or Pattinam means a town on the sea coast.

There have been other theories also put forward from time to time about the origin of Madras. A Persian chronicle of the

said to have promised him that he would cause the factory which was about to be erected to be called after his name, as Madaresanpatnam, or commonly called Madraspatam. (Bundla Ramaswami Naidu in his *Memoir* on the Internal Revenue System of the Madras Presidency (Appendix III)).

* *Madras* was the name applied to large bright-coloured handkerchiefs of silk warp and cotton woof, exported from Madras formerly and much used by the Negroes in the West Indies. The word is preserved in French and was derived from the name of the city of which it could not be the root.

Nawabs of the Carnatic entitled, the *Tuzuk-i-Wālājāhi,** give us an account, probably then current, of the origin of the name of Madras. We give the necessary extract below in full so that the reader may judge for himself about the value of this version of the origin.

Origin of Madras according to the Tuzuk-i-Walajahi

" During the reign of the Rail (the Raja of Chandragiri) the Raja of Payanghat, the representatives of the East India Company strengthened their friendship with his *diwan*, the *zamindar* of Kalastri, named Damarlawar who is referred to till this day by the historians as the *zamindar* of Palaya Kalastri, and not by his name Damarlawar; they sent presents and gifts to the Rajah through Damarlawar, and sought a plot of land on the sea-coast for the purpose of erecting a factory. The Rajah, according to the recommendation of his diwan, complied with the request, and granted the place known as Makhraskuppam in the taluk of Poonamallee. He caused the sanad to be written on a gold plate and bestowed kindness on the applicants. He fixed the sum of 1,200 *Hun kuruk* (a variety of pagoda) as *peshkash* per year. In the year 1049 A.H., the Company laid the foundation for a building in the place on the sea-coast and gave it the name of Madras which sounds very like the original name (Makhraskuppam). After some time they were granted through the kindness of Damarlawar three places, *viz.*, Chennamnayak-kuppam, Arkuppam and Bailpet, which were within the taluk of Poonamallee. They settled in Chennamnayak-kuppam adjacent to Madras, and named it Chennapatan which sounds very like the original name."†

The derivation of Madras from Mandarajapatna is supported in the " Manual of the Administration of the Madras

* Written by one Burhan Ibn Hassan, about the end of the 18th century and translated into English by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, Head of the Department of Persian and Arabic in the Madras University.

† Pages 98-99 of S. Muhammad Husain Nainar's English Translation of Burhan's Tuzuk-i-Wālājāhi, Part I, (1934). A curious attempt has been made by one writer to derive the word, Makhraskuppam from Marakkayar-kuppam (a village of Marakkayar, a sea-faring Mussalman tribe of the coast).

Presidency"*; its derivation from the Persian word, *Madrasa*, (school) has also been suggested by several authors. Sir Henry Yule, criticises these usually accepted derivations as follows :—"The earliest maps show Madraspatnam as the Mahomedan settlement corresponding to the present Triplicane and Royapettah. The word is therefore probably of Muhammadan origin; and having got so far we need not hesitate to identify it with madrasa 'a college'. The Portuguese wrote this Madraza (see Faria y Sousa, *Africa Portuguesa,* 1681, p. 6); and the European name probably came from them, close neighbours as they were to Fort St. George, at Mylapore or San Thomé. That there was such a madrasa in existence is established by the quotation from Hamilton, who was there about the end of the 17th century. Fryer's Map (dated 1689, but illustrating 1672-1673) represents the Governor's House as a building of Mahommedan architecture, with a dome. This may be the Madrasa itself. Lockyer also (1711) speaks of a "College" of which the building was "very ancient"; formerly a hospital, and then used apparently as a residence for young writers. But it is not clear whether the name "College" was not given on this last account ....". The whole question has been discussed by Mr. A. T. Pringle.† He points out that while the earliest quotation given below is dated 1653, the name in the form Madrazpatam, is used by the President and Council of Surat in a letter dated 29th December 1640‡ "and the context makes it pretty certain that Francis Day or some other of the factors at the new settlement must have previously made use of it in reference to the place, or 'rather' as the Surat letter says, 'plot of ground' offered to him......". Mr. Pringle ends by saying: "On the whole it is not unfair to say that the chief argument in favour of the derivation adopted by Sir H. Yule is of a negative kind. There are fatal objections to whatever other derivations had been

* Vol. III, Glossary, page 444.

† *Diary Ft. St. Geo. 1st series;* i 106 *seq.*

‡ I. O. Records, O. C. No. 1764.

suggested, but if the mongrel character of the compound 'Madrasapatanam' is disregarded, there is no fatal objection to the derivation from 'madrasa' ...... If however that derivation is to stand, it must not rest upon such accidental coincidences as the use of the word 'College' by writers whose knowledge of Madras was derived from visits made from 30 to 50 years after the foundation of the colony." This theory can be definitely rejected as both unhistorical and improbable. Sir Henry Yule had heard of the legend deriving the name of Madras from an imaginary Christian fisherman called Madaresan. But he held it to be philologically impossible and also otherwise unworthy of serious attention. C. Lassen, the famous German Indologist, held the name Madras to be a corruption of Manda-rajya (Realm of the Stupid); and the remark that is made on this by Yule is that "it does look as if some malignant Bengalee had suggested to him, this gibe against the 'Benighted'." He adds that "it is indeed curious and true that, in Bengal, sepoys and the like always speak of the Southern Presidency as "Mandraj". Dr. Burnell the collaborator of Yule, in further comment, added that "it is sad that the most Philistine town (in the German sense) in all the east should have such a name." (Yule and Burnell: *Hobson-Jobson*—new edition, edited by W. Crooke (1903)—(pp. 532-33).

Among the Mackenzie Manuscripts, there is a paper enumerating the successive acquisitions of territory by the English at Madraspatam and in the neighbourhood between 1639 and 1763. On this paper Colonel Mackenzie remarked that it was communicated by one of the Maratha Brahmans employed in the accounts department under the Arcot Sarkar and that he had reason to believe that it was compiled or abstracted from official documents. In this paper which was translated by Mackenzie's chief *Munshi*, Cavali Venkata Boriah,* we read that the Hindu Rajas of the country reigned for a space of six

* He was the first Pandit of Mackenzie from 1796, and opened to him "the portals of Indian Knowledge".

years and two months from A.D. 1639 to A.D. 1646 and in the former year, when the English proposed the building of a fort to the Damarla family which was then in the management of the Poonamallee country, the chiefs of that family ceded four villages to them; namely, (1) Madras Coopam; (They built a *Cotee* (fort) on the land of this village which is named Madras). (2) Chennaik Coopam; (On the land of this village there later grew up the suburbs of Muthialpettah and Pagadalupettah). (3) Ārkoopam; (This village was called by the same name). (4) Mēlēput on the west; (The soil of this village was made use of to make salt and formed perhaps, the site of the present Salt Cotaurs).

The paper thus continues the narrative:—The grant and conditions were engraved upon a gold plate and included the authority to establish a *Dar-ul-zarab, i.e.* a mint for striking coins, namely *Kuruk* or Madras Pagodas. We read further that in A.D. 1646, Sriranga Rayalu was dethroned, *i.e.* lost this part of his dominions; and the Carnatic came to be possessed by the Mussalmans of Golconda. In 1672 the English despatched a prominent merchant of Madras, Kāsi Vīranna, as their envoy to the Sultan of Golconda.

From this paper we learn that Madras Coopam was understood about the middle of the 18th century, to have been the original site of the fort, while the Chennaik Coopam, which embraced the villages of the Muthialpettah and Pagadalpettah, lay to the north of the Fort and the English settlement. This is at variance with the view already expressed that Chennapatnam was the site of the fort and Madraspatam was the village to the north. Arkoopam means the hamlet at the mouth of the Cooum river to the south of the fort; and we find a village occupied by boatmen and fishermen marked at the site in the maps of Madras drawn up in 1710 and 1733. Mēlēput was probably the area to the west of the North River, marked as salt-pans in the map of 1733 and corresponding with the present Salt Cotaurs.

The city of Madras came in course of time to absorb

sixteen neighbouring villages; viz; Chētpat, Chintadripet, Kōmalēsvaranpet, Egmore (which, according to one derivation was named (Tamil) *ēzhu* = seven—(villages) as it had six neighbouring hamlets dependent on it), Muthiālpet, Nedumbarai, Nungambākam, Peddunaickenpet, Perambōre, Pursawākam, San Thomé, Tondiārpet, Triplicane, Vēpēry, Vyāsarpādy and Yerungunram. The acquisition and absorption of these villages and the formation of new ones as sub-divisions of the city will be dealt with later on.

V

THE PERIOD OF AGENCY

THE FIRST GOVERNORS OF MADRAS (1644—1672)

AFTER the time of Cogan and Day under whom Madras came to be firmly planted, Thomas Ivie was in charge as Agent for four years from August 1644 to September 1648. During his Agency the English were engaged in a continuous series of quarrels with the Dutch at Pulicat and in the mission of Greenhill which they sent to Sriranga Raya, as already told. Besides, there were the usual hostilities with the Portuguese of San Thomé, while the country round was ravaged by a severe and prolonged famine. Ivie urged upon the Directors of the Company the necessity of strengthening the fortifications in view of the attitude of the Dutch. The famine was intense in its effect and the difficulty of procuring rice for the consumption of the population of Madras was such that the English had to import quantities of grain from Surat, as they found it difficult to get supplies from Masulipatam. In the course of five months as many as 4,000 people died in Madras. By the end of 1647, Mir Jumla had fully established his authority in the country and the English had very cleverly got a confirmation of their rights and privileges from him.

Agency of Greenhill (1644-48)

Ivie was succeeded by Henry Greenhill, the envoy to Sriranga Raya. Greenhill was twice Agent, for the first time from 1648 to 1652 and later from 1655 to 1659. Greenhill had to carry on negotiations with the Muhammadans. His very first letter to the Company mentions the confirmation by Mir Jumla of the privileges of the English in Madras. From it we learn that Madras was comparatively safe under the rule of Golconda, whereas the Mussalmans of Bijapur who were in possession of the country lower down the coast in the Gingee dominion, had let loose a body of 8,000 free-booters, whose "incursions robberies and devastations hath brought a desolation on a great part of the country round about, especially the three prime cloth ports,

Devanampatnam, Porto Novo and Pullacheri, of which the last two are in a manner ruined, the other hardly preserving itself in a poor condition with a continual presence."

The attitude of Nawab Mir Jumla

Greenhill contrived to be on friendly terms with Mir Jumla who even made a proposal to subscribe to the stock of the Company and to share in its profits. He sent up his native agent, the Brahman Venkatapathi and also an Englishman, Littleton, to the Nawab, who was then encamped at Gandikotta. Greenhill wrote that the Nawab had in his own right, 4,000 horse, 300 elephants, about 500 camels and 10,000 oxen and was much in favour with the Great Mughal himself. He owned 10 vessels and had extensive trade relations with Pegu, Arakan, Persia, Bengal, Mocha, Perak, the Maldives and even Macassar. He had conquered from the Raya dominions yielding 40 lakhs of pagodas per annum. The Nawab had already assisted the Company with a loan and now offered a much larger loan of 50 to 60 thousand pagodas and, therefore, was deemed to entertain a real affection for the English.

Aaron Baker Agent from 1652 to 1655

There was continuous friction between the priests of San Thomé and Father Ephraim, the Capuchin Friar of Madras. In 1652, Greenhill was succeeded by Aaron Baker, who was in power for nearly three years. He was on bad terms with the members of the Council of whom Greenhill was one. Greenhill had always opposed Baker in Council.

Aaron Baker and caste disputes in Madras

As if these troubles were not enough, there arose serious disputes between the Right and Left Hand Castes of the Hindus in the town of Madras.* These disputes were a permanent feature of Hindu life in this part of the Tamil country and did not disappear till late in the 19th century. The Right

* These disputes were a recurring phenomenon of Madras life. See the author's paper on Right and Left Hand Castes Disputes in Madras, etc. in the *Proceedings of the I. H. R. Commission Vol. XII*—pp. 68–75. For their origin and provenance see the author's paper in *The Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* (1930)—Vol. IV—pp. 77–85.

Hand Castes included groups like the land-owning classes, the village accountants and some of the depressed classes; and the Left Hand groups embraced the trading and artisan classes, oil-mongers, weavers and leather-workers. The first dispute of which we have a record in Madras, took place in 1652 and was settled by the arbitration of President Baker, Greenhill and others. It had reference to the streets and routes along which the wedding and funeral processions of the respective castes were to proceed and particular streets were assigned to the two groups. Koneri Chetty and Seshadri Nayak were the leaders of the Left and Right Hand groups respectively. From the award of 1652, we can get some idea of the lie of the Indian town and the streets therein respectively assigned to the two groups. Seshadri Nayak was appointed the Company's Merchant as early as the foundation of the settlement itself. He and his colleague, Koneri Chetty, had been managing much of the business of procuring the Company's cloth for export.

The officials of the Indian Town

There seem to have been then three principal Indian officials of the settlement:—(1) the headman, who had to maintain order and to collect the revenue and exercised magisterial functions; he came to be called the Adhikari; (2) the accountant or Kanakkupillai, who assisted the Adhikari; and (3) The Pedda Nayak or chief watchman, who, assisted by a number of men, kept order in the streets and during festivals, arrested thieves and offenders and brought them for trial before the headman. The trial of petty offenders was done by the headman at the Choultry or the Town House. It also served as a customs house and as the place where thieves and evil-doers were kept pending their trial. It contained a jail also for the receiving of offenders. The headman collected the customs duties and registered sales of real properties and the licensing of slaves. These three were the officials who helped in the administration of the Indian Town.

Besides these, there were big merchants; among them were the Company's Merchants who assisted in procuring cloth

for export by the Company and in the selling of European goods got from England. Seshadri Nayak and Koneri Chetty were the first of the Company's Merchants. These merchants received advances of money from the Company, paid them to weavers and painters who were commissioned to do the work and were responsible for the supply of goods in a form ready for export. The first among these Company's Merchants was designated the Chief Merchant. Besides, there were the ordinary merchants who were employed as agents by the English servants of the Company and helped them in their private trade in which they were permitted to indulge; and these were known as the Dubashes. Their importance increased in later times. The Company had also to employ a number of interpreters and linguists some of whom were sent as envoys (*vakils*) and agents to the courts of the Indian princes. Venkata Brahmany, who accompanied Littleton on his mission to the Nawab Mir Jumla, was the first notable example of the interpreter-ambassador. His brother, Kanappa, became even the magistrate of the Indian Town and claimed that their father held such a position in the Company's service from 1614 (presumably in the northern factories). Both the Brahman brothers exercised considerable influence and caused a large amount of disturbance in the government of the settlement, by making charges and counter-charges in favour of Baker and against Greenhill and his colleagues. Venkata Brahmany was a boastful man and even threatened that he would drive away Nawab Mir Jumla from the country within a space of two months. Venkata's son. Virago Brahmany (Viraraghava) rose to considerable prominence under the Company in the next generation. We hear of one Raghava Bhattan, who was the Kanakkupillai of the town as early as 1640.

The Indian merchants and others

Greenhill's second term of administration which lasted four years was marked by the unfortunate reduction of Fort St. George to the rank of a subordinate agency. It was during these years that Nawab Mir Jumla joined Prince Aurangzeb,

the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, and cleverly ingratiated himself into the favour of the Emperor Shah Jahan, thus protecting himself against the anger of the Sultan of Golconda, whose displeasure he had incurred. He went away from the Carnatic to the Mughal court, leaving the administration of his dominion of the Poonamallee country in the hands of tyrannous lieutenants like Bala Rao. Mir Jumla got from the Mughal Emperor a confirmation of his possession of the Carnatic country that he had secured by his arms and continued his trade activities in this region right up to July 1656. His former master, Abdulla Kutb Shah, had indeed tried to win back the friendship of his overgrown minister; but the latter definitely went over to the Mughal side when his family was imprisoned by the Sultan in Golconda on account of the haughty behaviour of his son. When the Kutb Shah tried to establish his own authority over Mir Jumla's acquisitions in the Carnatic, Shah Jahan decided that they should be deemed as Mir Jumla's personal *jaghir* and as held directly from the Mughal Emperor and curtly ordered the recall of all Golconda officers from that province. Taking advantage of this situation, Sriranga Raya tried to recover possession of the region; and his father-in-law even made a raid on Periyapālayam in the neighbourhood of Madras. Koneri Chetty had contrived to enter the service of the Raya and become his general; and soon the country round about Poonamallee was brought, for the time being, back under Hindu rule; but Koneri Chetty quickly betrayed his new master and made overtures to Tupaki Krishnappa of Gingee who was the lieutenant of Mir Jumla and who contrived to inflict a defeat upon Sriranga in September 1657. This brought about the seige of Madras on behalf of Mir Jumla, the first of its kind.

Second administration of Greenhill January 1655 to January 1659

Seige of Madras 1657

Mir Jumla had left the Carnatic country in charge of an agent of his, who tried to practise oppressions towards the English. He had his headquarters at Poonamallee. Troubles

arose on a serious scale when Greenhill seized a *junk* belonging to the Nawab when it was riding off San Thomé, in retaliation for the Nawab's agent stopping grain and goods from coming as usual into Madras, raising the *sunkam* dues and not allowing the English to buy any rice or paddy at all in the country, besides subjecting them to many other indignities for which they could obtain no redress. The English also helped, in some little measure, the practically dispossessed Sriranga Raya in his desperate attempts to regain possession of some parts of his former kingdom and assisted Koneri Chetty who had now taken service under the Raya and was at the head of his partisans and soldiers. Madras itself was frequently subjected to threats of actual attack by Mir Jumla's troops and by the Raya's partisans, the rival parties in the struggle. Koneri Chetty was, on one occasion, beaten by the Muhammadan troops; and he fled to Fort St. George for protection, being followed close at his heels by the victors, who entered the Indian town, burnt some thatched houses and plundered others. Thereupon, a large number of the Indian inhabitants abandoned the settlement. Koneri Chetty's soldiers had sought protection in the Fort itself and the Nawab's men who dared not direct an attack on it had to retreat with a loss of thirty in an engagement "about a mile off on the further side of the river by the toddy trees of Vepery." (January 1657).

Entry of the Muhammadans into the settlement (1657)

Nor was Madras to suffer alone in this miserable position. The Dutch at Pulicat were not altogether secure in spite of their strength. The Raya's troops were able to maintain parity for some months with the Nawab's men. Koneri Chetty finally gave himself up into the hands of the Muhammadans. This treacherous act of his rendered him liable to the suspicion of having purposely betrayed his master, and of having been suborned to do so by Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak of Gingee, who acted as the general of Mir Jumla's troops. The English Agent feared that Koneri Chetty might have even planned to surrender Fort St. George into the hands of the enemy, if he should have

been admitted into it with his men, as he very importunately insisted.

Mir Jumla's authority replaced by that of Golconda.

Thus the attack on Madras in 1656-57 formed the first actual danger that threatened the settlement. It proved an incentive to the development of the fortifications. It resulted in the completion of the wall enclosing the Outer Fort, *i.e.,* the walled Inner Citadel and the European quarter around it. Soon after this a revolution took place in the fortunes of Mir Jumla, as his master, Prince Aurangzeb, had triumphed in the civil war of succession. Mir Jumla became the viceroy of Bengal on the accession of Aurangzeb; and thus his interest in his Carnatic dominion ceased. The Golconda Sultan was quietly able to resume sway over the neighbourhood of Madras (1658).

Greenhill was in charge of Madras till the beginning of 1659. Of course, his quarrels with the two Brahman brothers, Venkata and Kanappa, continued unabated. The quarrels among the Indian servants of the Company had led to violent dissensions between the Agent and his Councillors. Kanappa, the town Adhikari already referred to, was accused of extortions and bribery, even of permitting stolen children to be sold as slaves. The Adhikari and his brother, Venkata, were the enemies of Greenhill, but had been much favoured by Baker. They had to be kept in confinement for gross abuse of power, though Baker held that they were being persecuted because they revealed the existence of gross abuses; and they justified their actions in these words:—"We are the Company's servants. Our father served them forty years and delivered us to your charge on abuses." They had no love for Timmanna and for Nagabhattan, the Company's powder-maker, whom they accused of changing exorbitant rates and hated Seshadri Nayak as well.* Greenhill died of dropsy on the 4th of January 1659 and was buried in the old European cemetery that, in those days, was located in the north-west corner of the Old Black Town, *i.e.,* on

* A petition by the painters and weavers of Madras against the Brahman brothers (dated 1654) says:—"The Brahmans, being Linguists of the Fort, Governors of the Town and having the Talayar's office, always

the site of the present Law College grounds.. A stone inscribed to his memory is now to be found built into the wall of the external staircase of the Fort Church.

Rule of Chamber (1659-62)

His successor, Thomas Chamber, ruled autocratically for three and a half years. He had an intimate knowledge of the settlement with which he had been familiar since 1646. The first year of his governorship was marked by an abundance of rains which brought down the prices of provisions that remained till now at a high level on account of the drought and of the presence of the rival armies of the Raya and the Muhammadans which remained in the neighbourhood.

Chamber proceeded to further improve the defences of the city as against a possible attack by the troops of Golconda, which remained in the neighbourhood. In May 1662 a severe cyclone swept over the coast and destroyed nine ships and *junks* lying in the roads. It was equally destructive to the ships at Porto Novo and at Masulipatam; and the Council wrote "that the like hath not happened in the knowledge of any man alive at that time of year." We find from the Council's Minute of November 28, 1661, that the privileges enjoyed by Madras at the time were not anything more than what had been secured at the first building of the fort and town, "which is that you have such a circuit belonging to the town of Madraspatam, and the inhabitants to be counted as your subjects, and the justice to be executed by you; only one half of the customs to be paid to the Diwan, which is meant the King Viceroy or chief Governor of the country."

Disorders in the settlement

In Chamber's time, according to an observer who had been living in the locality, we find that the painters and weavers so necessary for the prosperity of the settlement were much inconvenienced by the enhancement of the prices of rice on account of one man

one of them remained in the Fort, that by no means, no person, but by them could speak to the Agent; and by reason of the influence of one office to another, no inhabitant, for fear of their speaking for the Agent, or Government of the Town, or Taliar's office, durst make complaint."

being allowed to engross and monopolise all its supplies and consequently the people set a higher value upon their work and cloth, much to the Company's loss. A source of disorder in the settlement was the keeping of punch-houses owned and run by the officers themselves, in which soldiers were allowed to indulge in rioting and disorder.

The Catholic priests

A school-master was needed for the education of the children of the Protestant Christians, as it was feared that, otherwise, the French Padres would gain an advantage. These latter had been strengthening their position in the Fort; and in those days of Puritanical fervour, it was considered unjustifiable that these French priests should be allowed so much latitude. On the other hand, it was represented that a large number of the garrison were Catholics and the Capuchin Fathers were really doing useful work and their Catholic flock, consisting mostly of Portuguese, tended to an increase in the trade and to the strengthening of the white element in the population.

Bala Rao, the governor for the Mussalmans of the neighbouring country, caused a great amount of injury to the settlement. His agent who was empowered to collect the Nawab's share of the customs, encouraged factions among the officials of the Indian town, like those referred to above, hindered the Company's Merchants in their work of providing cloth for export and forced the townsmen to buy paddy at 25% above the bazaar price, stopping all other paddy, except his own, coming into the town and "demanding customs that was never heard of before."

Madras blockaded by the Golconda troops—agreement made in 1658

Mir Sayyid Ali was appointed to be in charge of the Poonamallee country in succession to Bala Rao; and the English hoped to get some relief from him. They had taken possession of one of the Nawab's *junks* and were now asked to give it back. For as long a period as 8 months was Madras subjected to blockade by Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak and Bala Rao under the orders of Sayyad Ali; and at last the

troubles ceased, but only for the time being, when in 1658, Agent Greenhill and Krishnappa Nayak made an agreement that Madras should pay the Nawab's Diwan annually 380 pagodas for the Nawab's dues of half the customs of the town.

Seizure of San Thome by Golconda (1662)

In 1659 the Golconda troops left the neighbourhood of Madras as soon as they thought that the Hindu rising had been suppressed. Two years later they again appeared in the neighbourhood, because Shahji, the Bijapur governor of the Mysore country and the Lower Carnatic coast, had then attacked and taken possession of Porto Novo; and they now intended to attack San Thomé, lest it should fall into the hands of the designing Dutch. The Golconda general, Reza Kuli afterwards known as Nawab Neknam Khan, laid siege to San Thomé early in 1662 and starved it into surrender in May of that year. Many of the rich merchants of the Portuguese colony migrated thereupon to Madras and crowded the place. The English Fort itself was much threatened; and Chamber wrote that they would defend themselves to the utmost of their power and also revenge themselves by sea rather than lose their trade and privileges. The English at Madras entertained at that time a hope that San Thomé would be ceded by the Portuguese to the British Crown, in lieu of Bombay, as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza; and it was quite likely that the Portuguese power would have greatly preferred the loss of "the insubordinate and neglected east coast town" (San Thomé) for the harbour of Bombay whose value had come to be appreciated. But the fall of San Thomé into the hands of Golconda put an end to these hopes.

Rule of Sir Edward Winter (1662-65)

Chamber indulged in illegal private trading and was dismissed; and his successor was Edward Winter who had ingratiated himself into the favour of the Company at home and was knighted by King Charles II before he started for India. It

took four years for Chamber to clear his affairs and return to England. Sir Edward Winter ruled Madras for three years from September 1662 to June 1665. His subordinates were disloyal; and he himself was not above corrupt practices. In 1663 the English got into trouble with Nawab Neknam Khan over the dues from Madras. Naturally, the Nawab's demands were pitched very high; and he threatened to blockade Madras with an army of 40,000 men quartered in its neighbourhood. He demanded that a Muhammadan captain should be admitted into the town and be permitted to erect a warehouse for facilitating the collection of customs by his officers. Winter enlarged the Inner Citadel in the Fort and established a library therein. He strengthened the garrison and provided for the forming of a chapel within the Castle wherein public service might be regularly held. We also read that it was in his time that a hospital for the sick was established in a private house within the White Town. A number of Rajput mercenaries had to be maintained to guard the walls of the Outer Town, particularly as there was threatened an irruption of the Hindus of the Poonamallee country against the Golconda troops. An Englishman was taken captive by the troops of Golconda and it was only with great difficulty that his release could be obtained. When an inquiry was started into Winter's conduct he retired in great anger to the northern factory of Madapallam where he remained for some months. He was accused of extravagance, of neglect to attend divine service and of a partiality towards Roman Catholicism. Without giving him an opportunity for answering the charges, the Company superseded Winter by sending out one, George Foxcroft, to take his place, though they allowed him to continue as the Second in Council until the expiration of his contract period of three years, and also thereafter to reside at Madras till he should realise his private properties. The Directors were not free from blame in this matter. They listened to tales against their servants behind their backs. They accused Winter, first, of "countenancing and

His troubles and suspension

encouraging the Popish Mass to the great dishonour of Almighty God and reproach to the Protestant Religion'' and, later, of other charges like self-aggrandisement at the expense of the Company, extravagant expenditure and utilisation of the Company's servants for his own private trade. Foxcroft took with him the commission of his appointment which was dated December 1664 and contained orders to treat Sir Edward Winter with all respect. He was new to the details of the Madras administration; and when he found out that Winter was indebted to the Company in several matters and asked him awkward questions concerning his past conduct, the latter who was indignant at his unjust supersession, resolved upon the bold and desperate expedient of usurping the Government and setting aside Foxcroft on the ground that he was a Puritan, had been a Cromwellian in his sympathies and had spoken, or was alleged to have spoken, slightingly of King Charles II. Winter adroitly secured the aid of the commander of the garrison and some friends. Foxcroft's son who was also with him was declared to have said that he should maintain his private interest before the King's and was bound to obey and serve him no longer than he could protect him; while the *père* was said to have asserted that the present King of England had no other title to the Crown than that of conquest and the Chaplain of Madras could not prove that any king in Christendom had any title to his crown but by conquest. Foxcroft maintained that the Agent of Madras could not be charged with treason, though it should be in the King's name, during the time of his Agency, whereupon Winter went to the main guard, published his accusation of Foxcroft among the soldiers and demanded their assistance. Winter and his two witnesses were promptly imprisoned. The next day, Winter drew up a charge, in the King's name, upon Lieutenant Chuseman, the Captain of the soldiers and upon another to use the utmost of their power and diligence for securing the persons of the Agent and his son.

The rule of Foxcroft (1665) and his imprisonment by Winter (September, 1665)

Accordingly, the next morning, Chuseman, the Captain of the soldiers, went with a file of musketeers to the chamber of the Agent, whereupon the latter fired several pistol shots and made several passes with his sword at the person of the Captain, who all along claimed to have held himself in a purely defensive posture and said that there was no person hurt except those who were the authors of the mischief. In the *melée* that followed, one was killed, several were wounded and Foxcroft and his son were overpowered and put in safe custody till orders should be received from the King's General and Governor at Bombay or the King's particular pleasure should be known from England. This act took place on Saturday, September 16, 1665; and a copy of this narrative, as attested by Winter, Chuseman and others of their party, was sent to the Directors; while others put forward their own versions and Foxcroft himself sent a long account of the *coup.* Winter defended himself, in a letter to King Charles, saying " that the Foxcroft's employed words to the questioning and weakening of Your Right and Title to the Crown of England.

Foxcroft's version of the Coup

Foxcroft put forward his own account of the arrest and also of his doings during his three month's tenure of the Agency. He had done his best to maintain good terms with Winter and on the first day when Winter accused him, he had him imprisoned. But before Winter had been less than two days under arrest, he had prevailed upon Chuseman and another to throw in their lot with him. He averred that he was injured by several shots and wounded in several parts of his body and his son tried to close with Chuseman, who was however rescued by the soldiers. The Agent had two wounds in the ribs on the right side, a scratch upon his forehead and a shot which burnt his clothes. Winter had cleverly kept out of the actual fray, but soon came out when he knew that his rival had been arrested. Foxcroft concluded that the charge levelled against him of

using treasonable words was merely a ruse to enable Winter to usurp the administration.*

Foxcroft and his son continued in prison until August 1668, guarded not only by a body of European soldiers but by about twenty Moors. He sent despairing letters, by the aid of the Capuchin Fathers*, to Masulipatam from whence they were forwarded to London. Winter now assumed the administration, assisted by the Captain and one of the merchants. He reported the matter to the Directors and addressed letters both to the King himself and to the Archbishop of Canterbury and declared that his loyalty to His Majesty had been his only motive for arresting and imprisoning his successor. Foxcroft applied for assistance to the subordinate factory at Masulipatam and to the Presidency at Surat. Both Masulipatam and Surat were

Its sequel

very sympathetic to him. The Directors became suspicious and felt that their power had been brought into contempt; and finally the King was persuaded to interpose his authority; but the years 1666 and 1667 passed with Winter still in power and Foxcroft still in confinement.

The Directors contemplate even the abandonment of Madras

It was even rumoured that Winter had planned to deliver up Madras to the Dutch Governor of Ceylon and to escape abroad by one of the Dutch vessels. The Directors believed in this rumour and gave stiff instructions to their loyal servants that Madras should be blockaded if Winter still continued in possession of the Fort and if the blockade should

* Talboys Wheeler (*Madras in the Olden Time*) concludes that Winter and his party suddenly made an attack on Foxcroft and his party. Bruce (in his *Annals*) says that Foxcroft and his son and Jeremy Sambrooke attacked Winter and his party, Dawes, Proby, Chuseman and Simon Smythes, the Chaplain. Winter charged Foxcroft with having spoken treasonable words. Simon Smythes, the Chaplain, deposed an oath to that effect. Farley wrote that though he heard the words asserted to be treason, yet he did not deem them to be treason. He was on the side of Winter, but disclaimed all knowledge of his purpose. The Company at home entertained a fear that Winter might hand the fort over to the Dutch and suggested that he had bribed Proby, Chuseman and Symthes to act with him. Sambrooke reported that Winter "employed his drunken Chaplain (who had married his kinswoman) to stir up

fail, they were to negotiate for the cession of San Thomé from the Sultan of Golconda and they should garrison that place against the contingency of retaking Madras. And finally resort was to be had to the last alternative, that, if Madras could not be recovered and San Thomé could not be obtained, then Fort St. George was to be abandoned altogether and replaced by some other settlement. Meanwhile, Henry Gary, the new Governor for the Crown of the Bombay Island, issued a proclamation against Foxcroft which was read in the chapel at Fort St. George on the 16th of September 1667, being the second anniversary of his arrest and confinement. The Directors had sent Foxcroft, even in the course of 1666, a fresh commission appointing him Governor of Fort St. George, with power to try persons accused of capital crimes. But Winter who received it in October 1667, would not obey it and wrote to the Directors, pleading that their censure of him should be suspended.

The Royal Commission for the suppression of Winter (1667-68)

The first news of the revolution in Madras reached England only in January 1667. The Company presented thereupon a petition to the King who directed the Lord Chancellor and Lord Arlington, one of the Cabal Ministers, to make an investigation. But it was only in December 1667 that a Commission was issued for the reduction of Fort St. George, the deposition of Winter and the restoration of Foxcroft. The Commission was ordered to be enforced by five ships of the Company and a frigate. If, on the arrival of the fleet, Winter refused to release Foxcroft and submit, the garrison of Fort St. George was to be offered all arrears of pay due to them. If even this bait failed, the Fort was to be attacked both by land and sea; but if the fortress should have been given in the meantime by Winter to the Dutch as was suspected, an applica-

the faction against Foxcroft. Foxcroft hurled accusations against all, including Smythes, in his letters which were conveyed by the aid of the Capuchin Fathers to the Agent at Masulipatam from whence they were despatched to London. He accused Winter of strengthening the fortifications with a view "to make it the place of his rest"; and filling the fort with Portuguese in lieu of the English that were imprisoned or dead."

tion for its restoration was to be made to the Sultan of Golconda or to the Dutch Government, according as the surrender should have taken place before or after the date of the Treaty of Breda. If Madras could not be recovered by these means, San Thomé was to be purchased from the Nawab and fortified, failing which a new settlement was to be formed elsewhere on the coast. It was only towards the end of May 1668, that two of the Company's ships arrived in the Madras roads and contrived to detain on board two members of the Council who informed Winter that the royal commissioners would take possession of the Fort in the name of the King. Winter demanded the guarantee of his person and property. His terms were acceded to; the commissioners took possession of the Fort on the 22nd August, released Foxcroft from his confinement of three years and reinstated him as President. Winter was, however, allowed to reside at Madras though it was feared that he would be a source of trouble and anxiety to the administration. He left India finally only in 1672. His chief ally in the revolution, Chuseman, was allowed to proceed to England, though he also was suspected of having indulged in illicit trade.

The release and reinstatement of Foxcroft (1668)

Foxcroft was a plain business-like citizen of London and a sober God-fearing man, who, perhaps, might have said something uncomplimentary about the morals prevailing at the court of King Charles II. Winter seems to have been an ultra-loyalist and a man of considerable strength of will.* Thus ended an extraordinary

Return of both Foxcroft and Winter.

* An inscription in the monument erected to Winter's memory in the Parish Church of Battersea contains a eulogy in rhyme, of him, of which the following is an extract:

'Nor less in Martial Honour was his name,
Witness his actions of Immortall fame:
Alone, unarm'd, a tygre He opprest,
And Crusht to death the Monster of a Beast.
Thrice-twenty mounted Moors he overthrew
Singly on foot, some wounded, some he slew;
Dispers'd the rest; what more cou'd Sampson do?
True to his friends, a terrour to his foes,
Here, now, in peace his honour'd bones repose.'

episode, produced by "imprudent language on the part of Mr. Foxcroft and intemperate zeal on the part of Sir Edward Winter." The Directors quickly changed their opinion as to these two men. Sir William Langhorne and six other commissioners were ordered to make an inquiry into the conduct of Foxcroft who was allowed to continue as Agent and Governor only for one year. Winter was permitted to finish his transactions at Madras and recover the moneys due to him; he was allowed a free passage to England and recommended to be treated with every respect. Both Winter and Foxcroft returned to England in 1672.

Foxcroft the first Governor of Madras

Foxcroft ruled till 1672. He was the first Agent to be created Governor of Fort St. George and, therefore, was the head of a long line of distinguished successors. The origin of the title of Governor was in fact due to a very obscure incident, namely, a murder that took place in Madras. The Charter of Charles II to the Company gave it authority over all its forts and factories in the East Indies, empowered it to appoint Governors and other officers and authorised the Governor and Council of a place to judge all persons living under them, in all cases civil or criminal, according to the laws of England and to execute judgement. Prior to the issue of this Charter, the Agent and Council possessed no properly granted judicial authority. Winter who came out with the charter of 1661, chose to replace the European Magistrate who had sat at the Choultry to dispense justice to the Indian inhabitants, by two Indians who were empowered to rule the Indian Town. Foxcroft replaced the Indian Magistrates by a European as soon as he came to power. In 1665, a slave girl died a violent death and her European mistress was accused of the crime. The Agent and Council were not certain as to their powers and asked for instructions from England.

The Company's despatch of 1666

The Company sent a despatch, dated 10th March 1666, to this effect:—"And to the end we might the more exactly pursue the words of our Charter, where we have thought fit to constitute you

Governor of our Town and Fort, where the fact was committed, as well as Agent and to appoint you a Council under our seal, which, together with some instructions and directions how to proceed in the trial of this woman, and of such as were assistants to her, if any were, we have likewise herewith sent you."

Foxcroft styled Agent and Governor

This despatch reached Madras during the time of Winter's usurpation; but it was intended for Foxcroft. Foxcroft was consequently styled Agent and Governor. He was assisted by five members of the Council; besides, there were at the Fort five factors and four *junior* apprentices.

Troubles with Neknam Khan—Blockade of Madras (1670)

Nawab Neknam Khan continued to have differences with the Madras administration and claimed that he had the right to receive not only half the customs, but the whole of the proceeds and that he would appoint an Indian *havildar* in Madras to check the receipts. The Nawab long persisted in his demands; Foxcroft steadily resisted them; and the relations between them became strained. In 1670 Neknam Khan's deputy imposed a strict blockade on Madras which lasted for a month. In the next year, Sir William Langhorne was sent out as commissioner from England to conduct an inquiry into the affairs of Foxcroft and Winter and to succeed the former as Agent. Early in 1672, Foxcroft and Winter sailed for England within a few days of each other.

Governor Langhorne (1672)

Langhorne's governorship begins a new period of prosperity for Madras. He was a Baronet and a wealthy merchant and had made a name for himself by his travels and marked ability. Soon after he became the Governor of Madras, Nawab Neknam Khan issued a *farman* settling the dispute regarding the town-rent and confirming the grants previously made. It was from the beginning of Langhorne's Governorship that the voluminous Government records preserved at Madras began to be systematically filed and maintained. The volumes known as Public Consultations begin with

Preservation of the records of Government

January 1672 when Langhorne assumed office. The Public Letters to England, the Despatches from England and other series of the records begin either now or somewhat later.

About this time also Nawab Neknam Khan died. Troubles arose with the French capture of San Thomé; and these brought on Madras a great change which will be described in the next chapter.

VI

PROGRESS UNDER LANGHORNE (1672—78)

I. San Thome

It was during this period that the Portuguese town of San Thomé which had been all along been a neighbour, a rival and an eyesore to Madras, assumed a special importance.

San Thome and Mylapore—Importance of the latter place

A short account of the fortunes of San Thomé is given here so that its proper early relations with the city of Madras may be well grasped. San Thomé had always been identified with the neighbouring Hindu town of Mylapore; and in fact, the original name for the town of San Thomé was San Thomé de Meliapor. The Hindu town of Mylapore was a place of ancient importance, being closely associated with the life of the Tamil saint, Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the immortal author of the *Sacred Kuṛaḷ* and also with the activities of the great Saiva saint, Gnanasambandar. It was mentioned as an important place among the Coromandel ports, ranking in importance with Pulicat in the accounts of the European travellers of the 16th century. Scholars are of the opinion that it is identical with the town of Malli-arpha, mentioned as a place on the east coast of South India in the account given of the land, as it was in the second century A.D., by Ptolemy, the famous Graeco-Roman geographer. The term *Malli-arpha* is supposed to comprehend the two essential ingredients of the modern appellation of Mylapore.* The temple of Sri Kapālīswara which is the most important shrine of the place contains many sculptured images, one of which depicts the Goddess Pārvatī, as worshipping Lord Siva in the form of a peacock. Another piece of sculpture in

* Dr. Medlycott first definitely identified Ptolemy's Malliarpha with Mylapore [in his *India and the Apostle Thomas* (1905)] as containing the two essential ingredients of the name Mylapore. D'Anville, the French geographer of the 18th century, had previously suggested the identification. The Arab work—*Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen* (tr. by M. J. Rowlandson, 1833)—of the 16th century, mentions Meelapur. One writer has opined that it is the Malifattan of Rashid-ud-din. Medlycott laid special stress on Malabar tradition in support of the claim of Mylapore to hold the first tomb of St. Thomas.

the shrine depicts the miracle of Saint Gnānasambandar in restoring to life a girl of the Chetty caste from out of her cremated bones.

Association of St. Thomas, with the place

San Thomé has been traditionally closely associated with the activities of the Christian Apostle, Saint Thomas, who is deemed to have spent some time on the east coast of India. It is believed that Saint Thomas suffered martyrdom at the hands of Hindu bigots at Saint Thomas' Mount, near Madras, and to have been buried at first at San Thomé, where is even now shown to the visitor the site of the original tomb. There probably existed a church of some kind at or near the place of the Saint's original burial; but since much of the ancient town has been encroached upon by the sea, the original church or even its ruins have not survived. San Thomé, or old Mylapore as it is called, was known to the Arab geographers and travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries as Betumah, *i.e.*, the house, church or town of Thomas, from which the word of San Thomé has been evidently derived. It was to this church at Betumah that King Alfred the Great of England should have sent his emissaries about A.D. 883. Subsequently certain merchants of Persia, who were Nestorian Christians, formed a church of theirs at the place and also built a chapel over the tomb of St. Thomas and a monastery at the top of St. Thomas' Mount, the seat of the Apostle's martyrdom. This community of Nestorian Christians was flourishing at the settlement when the famous Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, visited the Madras coast towards the close of the thirteenth century. Marco Polo tells us that St. Thomas, the Apostle, was believed to have been accidentally killed at St. Thomas' Mount by the arrow of a fowler. Other mediaeval European travellers like Friar Oderic and Nicolo di Conti have noticed the existence of the shrine. In the fifteenth century, a Syrian Christian, Joseph of Cranganore, visited the place and found that it was a sacred spot both to the Christians and to the Hindus. Early in the 16th century, Duarte Barbosa, the famous

Early Christian settlement in it

explorer, visited the place and found it in ruins. Now the Portuguese came upon the scene. They formed a settlement in 1522 and rebuilt the old chapel wherein they happened to discover the empty grave of the Apostle by the side of which they erected a small church. This church is, therefore, regarded the most ancient European building on the east coast of India. It is the nucleus of the present Roman Catholic Cathedral* of San Thomé; and it was a made Cathedral Church, consequent on the creation of a separate diocese of San Thomé by the Pope in 1606. Even before the Portuguese actually settled in the place, they had heard of the existence of the church and their famous Viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida, (1505-09) sent some emissaries to the Coromandel Coast to make inquiries. Subsequently, two Portuguese priests arrived at Pulicat and proceeded from thence to San Thomé where they discovered the ruins of a church building. In 1521, Gaspar Correa, who wrote a voluminous history of India with special reference to the Portuguese enterprise, arrived at the spot with a small party and executed repairs to the chapel.

The Portuguese at the place.

In the following year, *i.e.*, 1522, the Viceroy of Goa appointed an agent for the Coromandel Coast to carry out such repairs at the place as might be necessary. In the next year, the King of Portugal himself took the matter on hand, ordered the provision of facilities for the rebuilding of the place and appointed a priest to be in charge of the existing relics. Thus it would appear that the Portuguese settlement of San Thomé could not have been made earlier than 1522.

The date of the Portuguese settlement. (1522)

The Luz Church situated at the western end of Mylapore at a distance of over a mile from the San Thomé Cathedral, contains at its base in relief the Franciscan coat of arms and an inscription to the effect that it was built by a Franciscan monk in 1516. But

The Luz Church

*** The old Cathedral was demolished in 1893; and the present Cathedral was consecrated in 1896. The tomb of St. Thomas is in the transept of the new Cathedral.**

Correa makes no mention of this church; and we do not have evidence of any Portuguese activity in the locality before 1522. According to tradition, some mariners saw a light beckoning to them when they were tossed about in a storm near the shore. They sailed towards this guiding light, landed safely from their vessel on the shore of San Thomé, went for a little distance inland, being guided by that receding light and at last came to the spot where the light was last seen and disappeared. At this spot they erected the Church of Our Lady of Light (De Nossa Senhora da Luz). The date of the actual erection of the Luz Church has not been determined. Colonel Love says:—"It was probably later than 1547, when the discovery of a stone cross at the Mount contributed to the development of San Thomé; but the edifice certainly existed in 1582 when Gasparo Balbi saw and mentioned it. The fame it has hitherto enjoyed of being the most ancient European building on the coast must accordingly be transferred from it to the Church of St. Thomas, the foundation of which may be assigned to 1522. Little, however, of the original structure of the latter now remains." *

The Church of St. Thomas' Mount

The probability is that the Portuguese town of San Thomé was first begun as a monastic settlement about 1522 and quickly grew into a crowded and prosperous town. In 1547, when excavations were made at the Mount, the famous Bleeding Cross (a stone-cross bearing an old Sassanian Pehlevi inscription with some spots on it resembling blood-stains which reappeared after being scraped away) was discovered at the place and a Church was erected at the place by the Portuguese, the stone-cross being built into the wall behind the altar.† The Church on the Mount is dedicated to "Our Lady of Expectation." In those days, according to Correa, a beacon-fire was lighted nightly on the

* Page 290, Vol. II of *Vestiges of Old Madras.*

† The Rev. W. H. Richards held, in his *Indian Christians of St. Thomas* (1908), that "this language owns no inscription in India, later than the eighth century." Practically the same inscription is found in the two crosses in the Valiyapalli Church at Kottayam in Central Travancore. *See* also F. A. D'Cruz's *St. Thomas the Apostle*

Mount for the benefit of mariners who no sooner sighted it than they struck their sails and made obeisance. In the Church on the Mount there is a picture of the Holy Virgin and Child which is believed to be one of the seven portraits painted by St. Luke and brought by St. Thomas to India. The picture is said to have been discovered near the same place where the Bleeding Cross was seen. The flight of stone steps leading to the top of the Mount was built by a rich Armenian of Madras of the 18th century.

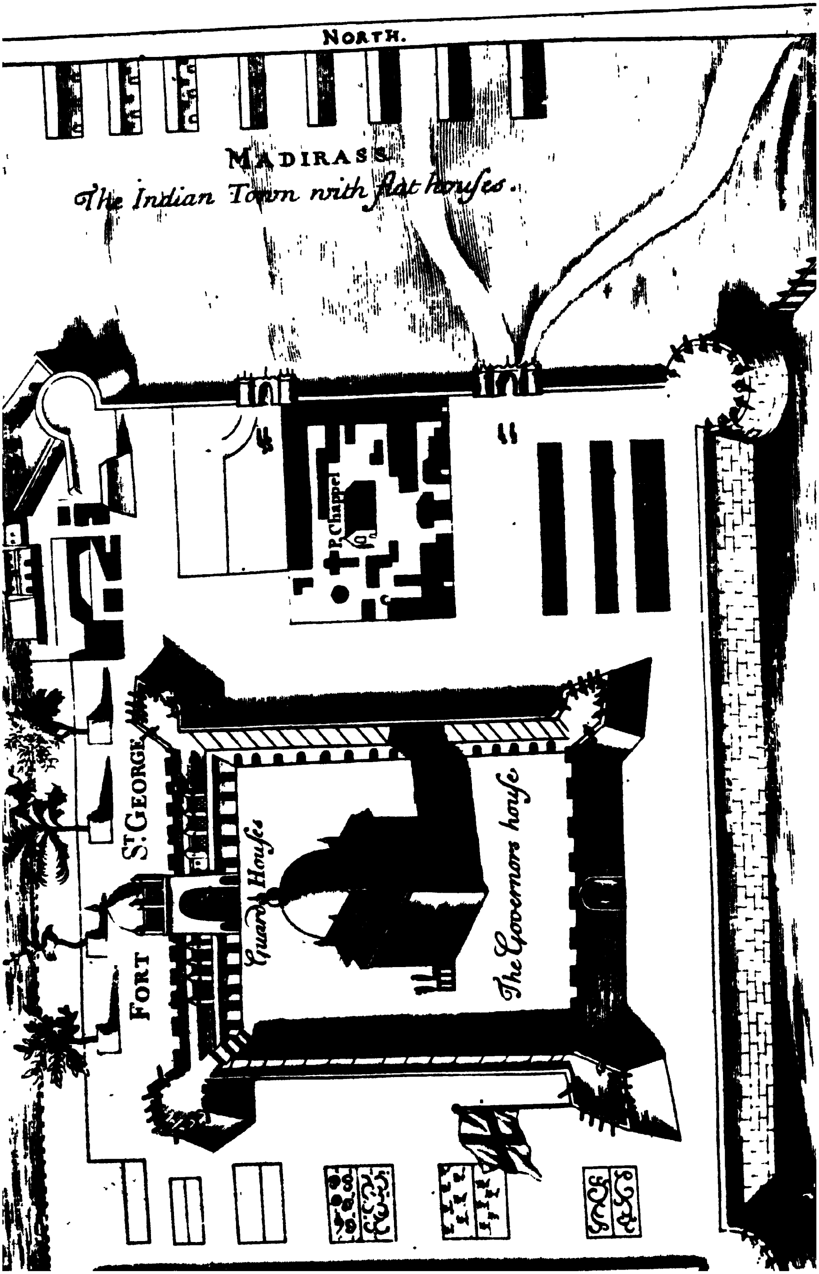
The Little Mount

Between St. Thomas' Mount and Madras and a little to the east of the southern end of the Marmalong Bridge over the Adyar river at Saidapet, is the Little Mount (Monte Piqueno or Chinna Malai) distinguished from the Big Mount (St. Thomas' Mount). This contains a cave to which St. Thomas is said to have fled when he was pursued by his persecutors. When his hiding place was discovered he is said to have escaped through a hole in it to St. Thomas' Mount where he was overtaken and speared to death. At first a beautiful marble altar was put up in the cave and a church was built adjoining the place by the Portuguese. There is a cross cut in the rock before which the Apostle is said to have prayed; and near by there is an opening in the rock where St. Thomas caused a spring of fresh water to gush forth, by hitting the stone with his staff; and the multitude who came to hear him preach quenched their thirst therein. The water of this fountain is said to have possessed healing properties; and the Church itself is dedicated to "Our Lady of Health." Both the Big and Little Mounts are outside the limits of Madras City, but they have such an intimate connection with San Thomé and with Madras and are so intensively intertwined with the growth of the city that it is but proper to include notices of them at this place.

San Thomé began to rise in importance as a Portuguese

in India (1922). The Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., spent some time at San Thomé in 1921 in investigations of the truth of the legend of St. Thomas' connection with Mylapore and the Mount and published his views in *The Catholic Herald of India.*

FRYER'S MAP OF MADRAS—(1673)



settlement after 1550. It was in enjoyment of a considerable volume of trade according to the observations of an Italian traveller, Cesare Federici, who visited it about 1565. Soon afterwards it was fortified, and several other churches besides that of the Apostle, came to be erected therein. The town faced west and had its main gate on the Mylapore side. On the sea-front it was defended by block-houses. It was held to be "as fair a city as any to be found in the whole country." The houses were built in close line with one another.

Rise of the Portuguese San Thome

Outside the Portuguese colony, there was the Hindu town of Mylapore, protected by walls of earth and ruled by an *Adhikāri*, on behalf of the Hindu ruler of the land, who acted as the chief executive and judicial officer. By the beginning of the 17th century San Thomé had developed into a place of considerable importance. But the Portuguese and the half-caste population of the place were living a very disordered life, so bad that even Moors and Hindus heartily despised them. According to an account of the place written probably about 1635, San Thomé was surrounded by a wall which was almost washed on the east side by the waves. It had three bulwarks on the sea-side. There were four gates piercing the walls which were equipped with a number of guns. The Portuguese residents numbered about 120 male adults; there were, besides, 200 Black Christians and a body of musketeers who formed the garrison. The Captain of the city was usually a Portuguese nobleman. Outside the city was a place for men from the vessels lying off the coast. The city was nominally subject to the sovereignty of the Hindu Raya of Vijayanagar; but it was frequently exposed to attacks from the Dutch at Pulicat. It was by nature protected by a lagoon of the Adyar river while, even on the inner or western side, there was another protecting lagoon adjacent to Mylapore. The Portuguese Captain of the city was known as the Captain Major. He was paid from Goa and was also entitled to one half of the customs revenue realised at the sea-gate of the port.

The adjacent Mylapore

Progress under Langhorne (1672—78)

Francis Day, when he voyaged down the coast in search of a site for settlement, created some amount of jealousy in the minds of the Portuguese of San Thomé; but when the English proposal to settle at Madraspatam was about to be put into execution, the Captain of the town actually urged him to build his projected factory at San Thomé itself "so that the English might be under effective Portuguese control."

The fortunes of the place

Of course, there were frequent bickerings between the English at Madras and the Portuguese at San Thomé, because the advantages offered by the English to settlers in their place attracted a large number of the Portuguese, both White and Indian-born, to go over to the new settlement and live there. The foundation of Madras was laid at a period of declining prosperity for San Thomé. It was subjected to the buffetings of enemies, threatened by the Dutch and attacked by Golconda; and at last it fell into the hands of the latter power in May 1662. It remained under Mussalman control till 1672, when it was taken possession of by the French who were able to hold it only for a time. The French occupation resulted, however, in a considerable extension of the fortifications of the place, particularly on the western or land side, where it was in danger of attack from the Mussalmans.

Its final fall into Mussalman hands (1674)

At that time the area enclosed by the walls of San Thomé was nearly twice as great as the Christian or White town of Madras. The French occupation of San Thomé lasted only but two years which constituted, in reality, one prolonged period of blockade and attack of the town by the combined armies of the Sultan of Golconda and of the Dutch. It was finally starved into surrender in August 1674 after the siege had lasted nearly two years.* The Dutch had the honour of reducing the Fort; but the Muhammadans actually took possession of it. The English Governor, Langhorne, made a strong representation to

* The French had to stand two sieges. In the first siege they fortified the Sri Kapāliswarar Temple of Mylapore as their western outpost and also the Triplicane Temple to the north and forced the besiegers to retire. The second siege was, however, more formidable.

the Muhammadans of Golconda that the fortifications of San Thomé should be completely demolished, particularly as he was afraid that the French might recover the Fort by paying a consideration to the Sultan or by a sudden attack. One consequence of the French surrender of San Thomé was the withdrawal of Martin, one of the French captains, with a small body of Frenchmen, to Pondicherry lower down the coast, where he founded the famous French settlement. The site of Pondicherry had already been granted to the French by the Bijapur Sultan to whom it belonged and now Martin began to plan its fortification.

Demolition of its fortifications

Governor Langhorne was afraid that if the fortifications of San Thomé were not immediately pulled down, the French would come and take it again and that if the king of Golconda should allow the Dutch keep the place, they might be obliged to restore it to the French by any agreement that they might enter into. The best thing in the view of the English Governor was for the Dutch to lend engineers and other artificers to the Sultan of Golconda and to help in blowing up the walls with gun-powder. In fact, in December 1674, the Mussalman governor of the place proposed to restore it to the French in return for a consideration of a lakh of pagodas. But the Dutch had gained over Madanna Pant, the all-powerful Brahman minister of Golconda, and nipped the scheme in the bud. Governor Langhorne was very suspicious of the French designs and was warmly supported by the Dutch in his insistence that the Golconda authorities should demolish the fortifications. At first, orders were issued from Golconda for the destruction both of the fortifications and also of the principal churches and other buildings of the place. But the Muslim governor of the town protested against the demolition of the buildings and therefore contrived to save them from the

A Dutch fleet began a strict blockade of the town on the sea-side, while the Golconda troops invested it by land; while the English at Madras were too jealous of the French to co-operate with them actively, though the Dutch were then at war both with England and France. At last, after a year of close investment, the French surrendered and the Fort of San Thomé was delivered by agreement into the hands of the Sultan of Golconda (1674).

pick-axe. The fortifications were pulled down with the assistance of the Dutch and the English who supplied engineers and overseers and also new gun-powder (1675); but the English Governor desisted from taking an open and active part in the work of destruction, for fear of embroiling the English Company with the French and the Portuguese, both of whom had put forth their claims to the town with great persistence. The dismantled town of San Thomé was quickly re-occupied by a number of Portuguese settlers who wanted to rebuild the walls; and hence in 1697 the town was totally dismantled. It finally came under British occupation in 1749.

II. OTHER EVENTS

Nawab Neknam Khan's grant of 1672

The most important event in Governor Langhorne's rule was the acquisition of a *cowle*, confirmed by his seal, early in 1672, from Nawab Neknam Khan for Madras. The *cowle* promised that the town of Madras "shall remain wholly rented for ever under the English so long that the Sun and the Moon endureth and so they shall perpetually enjoy it"; it also empowered the English to get the command, government and justice of the said town. In this *cowle* Madraspatam and Chennapatnam are detailed in their exact area, the former as covering the limits of the pre-British town or village of that name and perhaps including the whole of the land originally granted by the Damarla brothers, and the latter, Chennapatnam, being the specific name given to the new Fort and town which the English erected within those limits, but south of the original village. We learn that Narimédu (*i.e.,* Jackal Mound) was the ground adjacent to Chennapatnam on the west side, having been acquired in Raja Sriranga Raya's grant of 1645.

The English acquisition of Triplicane (1676)

The village of Triplicane which was the seat of an ancient Vishnu shrine dating back to Pallava times, was not included in any of the grants up-to-date. It was handed over to the English only a little later by Musa Khan, the successor of Nawab Neknam Khan as the agent of the Sultan of Golconda. The

Triplicane was not, however, effective owing to the troubled condition of the country and the siege operations that went on for some years round San Thomé already referred to. In the second siege of San Thomé, the Dutch made Triplicane the base of their operations while the French claimed several villages round about Madras, like Kodambakam, Egmore, Triplicane, Chepauk, Pudupakkam and Mambalam, all being claimed as having been formerly dependent on San Thomé. The English urged that the French claims should be opposed and maintained that Triplicane had been in their own hands, while the village of Egmore was held by their own chief merchant Kasi Viranna, *alias*, Hasan Khan. It was only in 1676, that the Sultan of Golconda issued a farman confirming the *cowle* of 1672 of Nawab Neknam Khan and specifically recognising the English claim to Triplicane. The English let out the village of Triplicane to Kasi Viranna, their influential Chief Merchant, and after his death, to Pedda Venkatadri (of whom we shall hear more anon), his successor in office.

Langhorne and the country powers

Langhorne received offers from the Nayak rulers of Tanjore and Madura, inviting him to build factories at Negapatam and Tuticorin in their respective territories in return for British assistance to be given to them against the Dutch; but he declined to take advantage of either of these offers. In 1677, he got a letter from Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, on behalf of the Golconda Sultan, confirming the English privileges already granted and adding the right to build ships anywhere on the sea coast. Gradually Golconda's authority began to weaken, and Podili Lingappa, who became the local faujdar, acted very much as he liked. The movements of Sivaji who was just then planning his great southern expedition, now began to excite the attention of the Madras Council. In June 1677, the Council reported to

Sivaji in the Carnatic

Bantam that Sivaji was helping Golconda against Bijapur, had taken possession of Gingee, laid siege to Vellore and quarrelled with his half-brother, the king of Tanjore. Four months later, the Council wrote that Siavji had pillaged Porto Novo and made himself master of the adjacent country. In August 1678, a body of 1,500 Maratha horse approached Madras from Conjeevaram in order to take the Poonamallee fort, while the great fortress of Vellore had already surrendered to them.* The Council busied itself in strengthening the fortifications of Madras and increasing their military equipment throughout the troubled period of Sivaji's southern campaign.

About this time the various servants of the Company were arranged in grades with suitable salaries.* The names of the Company's servants were now to be enrolled in a regular seniority list. The Apprentices who came out from England were to

* Extracts from the Consultations dated 14th May 1677.—Having this day received a message and a letter from Sivaji Rajah by a Brahmin and two others of his people, requesting some "cordial stones and counter-poisons, we resolved to send him some, together with a civil letter, by a messenger of our own, as a small present, together with some such fruit as these gardens afford, and to bestow upon his Brahmin three yards of broadcloth and some sandalwood, not thinking it good to require the money for so small trifles, although offered in his letter; considering how great a person he is, and how much his friendship does already and may import the Honourable Company as he grows more and more powerful and obvious to them." The value of the present thus sent to Sivaji is carefully stated in detail, from which it appears that the cost of the whole was something like sixty pagodas.

A few days afterwards Sivaji sent for more cordials and medicines and again the orders of "this dangerous mofussil customer" were promptly attended to; the bill being ignored a second time, in "a fashion which is but rarely followed by the modern mercantile community of this Presidency." Subsequently, Sivaji asked for some English engineers; but that application was politely declined.

* The Directors in their letter of 24th December, 1675 thus fixed the conditions of service:—"For the advancement of our services we direct that after they have served the first five years, they shall have £10 per annum for the last two years; and having served these two years to be entertained one year longer as writers and have writer's salary, and having served that year to enter into the degree of factors, which otherwise would have been ten years. And knowing that a distinction of titles is in many respects necessary, we do order that when the apprentices have served their terms they be styled writers, when the writers have served their terms they be styled factors, and factors having served their terms to be styled as merchants."

serve for seven years before they could be entertained as Writers and having served their term as Writers, they became Factors entitled to higher pay and more privileges. Their next promotion was to the grade of Junior Merchants and then to the status of Senior Merchants from whom the members of the Council of the Presidency were chosen. The Factors and Writers got free lodging and free board at the common table of the Factory. The Governor was the first Member of the Council which met twice every week and passed orders on all matters concerning the factory, its trade and its servants. He was also the commander of the garrison and keeper of the treasure. Other members of the Council were the Book-keeper, the Warehouse-keeper, the Customer, the Rental-General and Scavenger. A copy of the proceedings and consultations was regularly sent out every year or half-year and in reply a general letter was received annually from the Court of Directors.

Improvements in Madras

A school-master in the person of an Englishman, Ralph Orde, was engaged for the fort to teach not only the children of the English inhabitants but also those of the Portuguese and even the native inhabitants. He was to teach the children, to read English, *to write and cypher gratis* and also "if any of the other natives as Portuguese or Gentues, will send their children to school we require they also be taught *gratis*...."

Langhorne allowed the Roman Catholics to rebuild their church in the fort in 1675. They had already erected a small house of worship and had always enjoyed the free exercise of their religion and the services of priests of their own. This church was rebuilt on a larger scale in 1675. It was served by the Capuchin Fathers who continued their good work for many generations.

Langhorne was always very considerate towards these Catholics and was even blamed for permitting the firing of salutes on the occasion of the rebuilding of the Capuchin Church of St. Andrews above referred to, which was described by the Protestant Chaplain of the Settlement as 'not proper to have allowed.' The Chaplain regretted "that the Governor refused

to listen to any that would prevent his firing of great guns and volleys of small shot at the consecration of a Popish church within the walls.'' Langhorne sailed for England towards the end of January 1678 after resigning his office into the hands of Mr. Streynsham Master who had already arrived in Madras and was serving in the Council. Langhorne's Governorship was marked by notable achievements; and the rule of his successor was even more significant for the growth of Madras.

VII

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF STREYNSHAM MASTER AND W. GYFFORD (1678—87)

A DECADE OF FITFUL GROWTH

Governorship of Streynsham Master. (1678-81)

LANGHORNE left Madras in January 1678, being succeeded by Mr. Streynsham Master. Master was an important figure in the early history of Madras and did much to develop the system of trade of the Company. He was the chief representative of the Company in the Bay of Bengal from 1676 to 1681. He sailed for India at the early age of 16, lived at Surat for a number of years and effected many improvements in the methods of book-keeping followed at that settlement. He was commissioned in 1675 "to bring order out of chaos" in the Company's factories in the Coromandel Coast and in the Bay of Bengal, to be the Second in Council at Madras and to succeed Langhorne as Agent after his term. He made an exhaustive inquiry into the condition of the settlements and kept a record of his activities in the shape of a *Diary*.* He continued as Governor till July 1681 and was dismissed by Sir Joshiah Child, the Chairman of the Company, because he would not be pliant to his own imperious will.

Master's rule was marked by the introduction of regulations for the better administration of justice and the sober conduct of civil servants. There were also effected in his government a certain elementary organisation of the town for municipal purposes.

His Council and Administration

He enforced strictly the Company's regulations "issued in 1667, for the Christian and Sober Comportment of the honourable Company's service." He also issued regulations for the normal routine of despatch of public business. The Council was to meet at

* ***The Diaries of Streynsham Master* (1675-80) *and other contemporary papers relating thereto.* Ed. by *R. C. Temple* (1911)—Indian Records Series.**

8 in the morning, every Monday and Thursday and oftener, if necessary. The Second Member of Council was the Book-Keeper, the Third was to be Warehouse-Keeper and the Fourth was to be Judge at the Choultry Court along with the Pay-Master and the Mint-Master; he was also to be the Customer; and his duty was to collect land and sea customs and all other rents and revenues except those of the mint. He was also to register the scales of houses and slaves. The Pay-Master had charge of all stores, controlled expenditure upon buildings and repairs and managed the estates of dead people.

The Choultry Court

The Members of Council and other civil servants had sundry allowances and a free table; while all the servants of the Company had the right of indulging in private trade, apart from that of the Company. The hours of attendance at the customs house, and perhaps in other offices as well, were from 8 to 11 in the morning and from 2 to 4 in the afternoon. Master reorganised the Choultry Court which had been long held at the Choultry, or Town House, where justice was administered to the Indian inhabitants by persons, either Indians or Europeans, appointed by the Governor. He increased the number of Choultry Justices to three, of whom two at least should sit for the trial of petty cases and for the registration of bills, of sales of land and of other property. They should sit every Tuesday and Friday in the Choultry to do "the common justice of the town" as usual and take care that "the Scrivener of the Choultry duly registered all sentences in Portuguese and that an exact register was kept of all alienations or sales of slaves, houses, gardens, boats, ships, etc., the Company's dues for the same to be received by the Customs...... The Purser-General or Pay-Master to take charge of the concerns of deceased men and to keep a book for registering wills and testaments and inventories of deceased persons and also to keep a register of births, christenings, marriages, burials of all English men and women within the town."

Master also established a Superior Court for the trial by jury of civil and criminal offences by virtue of the powers granted by the royal charter of 1661. According to his scheme, the Governor and Council were to sit in the chapel in the Fort every Wednesday and Saturday for the trial of causes according to English laws. The Choultry Justices and the officers under them were to execute all orders, writs and summonses for the returning of juries, execution of judgment, apprehensions of criminals, etc. The Superior Court was to have the assistance of a clerk, an officer and a marshal. This court was not intended to supersede the Justices of the Choultry who were to decide all small misdemeanours, breaches of the peace and civil actions for debt not exceeding 50 pagodas. The decision to constitute this court of judicature was due, in part, to the difficulty experienced in dealing with criminal matters. This court was superseded in 1684 by an Admiralty Court presided over by a Judge-Advocate from England.

Superior Court of Justice formed

The first trial in the Court of Judicature by a jury took place on the 10th of April 1678. The decision to constitute a Court of Judicature was taken in order to exercise effective control over crimes, particularly offences like murder, committed by the Portuguese and British residents who could not be tried according to the laws of the country. It was necessary to bring the accused to trial within a short time after their apprehension. We can note that a prisoner, Henry Law, demanded *Benefit of Clergy* and was allowed it; and only a sentence was passed on him to be burnt in the hand. (Factory Records, Fort St. George Consultations of 18th March 1679-80).

In Master's time further improvements were effected in the administration of the city. It was he that first made a serious attempt at the conservancy of the streets.* In 1678, shortly

* A Consultation of July 1678 says:—"The Governor having proposed a way for keeping the Town clean after the manner in England, by taking every house at a moderate rate and to appoint a scavenger to collect the said monies and therewith to hire coolies to carry away the dirt and filth which in this, as in all other towns in these countries, lies in the street very offensively........"

after his accession, he resolved to impose a house-tax for this purpose and to appoint a Scavenger who was empowered to collect this tax and to hire coolies to remove the dirt and filth of the Town and draw up a roll of all the houses for this purpose. The post of Scavenger was to be held by a civil servant of senior rank. At the same time, orders were given for the keeping of hogs and swine out of the streets, for the supervision of the great market for which purpose a clerk was appointed and for the perambulation of the bounds of the city during nights. Tavern-keepers, victualling houses and places of entertainment were all to be licensed.

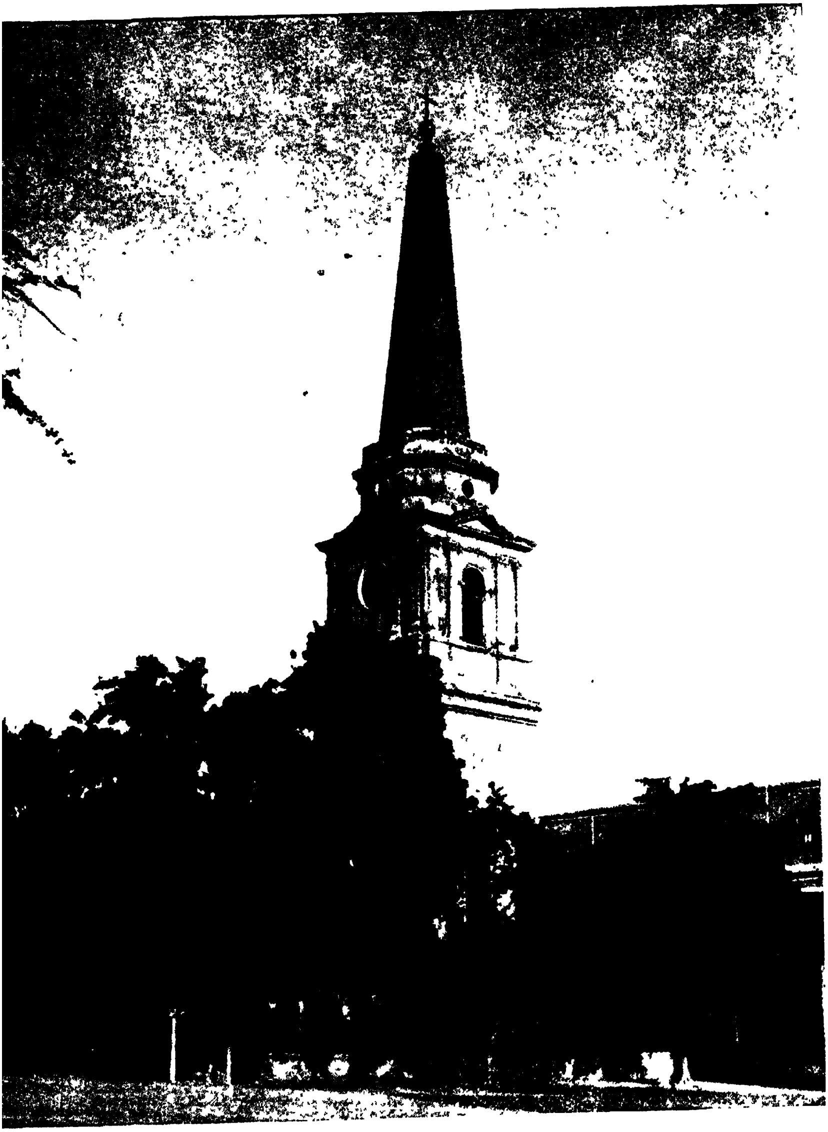
Attempts at town conservancy

The proposed house-tax was very obnoxious to the Indian residents and stoutly resisted by them. They held that they had not been taxed similarly these 40 years Madras had been in existence and they would themselves make their own arrangements for cleaning the streets. Master had to drop the proposal for the time, but afterwards enforced it in another form. He imposed a duty on arrack and paddy and raised that on tobacco in order to meet the expenses of his conservancy arrangement.

Proposed tax on houses

A few days after the new Court of Judicature was established, the foundations were laid for St. Mary's Church in the Fort, on Lady's Day 1678; and the Church was named St. Mary's, in honour of the Blessed Virgin on whose Annunciation Day the work was begun. Previous to the building of this church, there was no regular Protestant Chapel in the settlement, except a room in the Factory House which served as a chapel where the Governor and the other Company's servants met for services. The new Church was built by Master and his Council on their own initiative; and its cost was defrayed from the voluntary subscriptions of the English inhabitants. The Church was finished in 1680 and was consecrated on the 28th of October, with volleys fired by the whole garrison and the roaring of

Building of St. Mary's Church. (1678-80)



St. MARY'S CHURCH

cannon from the Fort walls.* St. Mary's Church can boast of being the first building connected with the Anglican Church of England in India. It was built upon a firm laterite foundation of brick and polished chunam with bomb-proof roofs and walls strong enough to stand the sieges of those days. Except for the spire and the tower which have been subsequently added in the place of the old ones and for the addition of a chamber

* "The work of excavating was begun on Lady Day 1678. When the Church was finished, it was consecrated to God's service, and named the Church of St. Mary, in honour of the Blessed Virgin on whose Annunciation Day the work had been commenced. There is nothing in the records to show who the designer was; but it is possible to give more than a shrewd guess; for Edward Fowle, the Master Gunner, was present in the Fort at the time, building the northern curtain of the Fort; and it is known how capable a builder and designer he was, and how he was afterwards chosen for this reason to design and build the Fort at Bencoolen. Most probably the credit of designing and building the Church belongs to him; and as it is both well proportioned and strongly built the credit is considerable. The building consisted of a nave and two aisles; the nave extended about 12 feet further eastward than the aisles, the extension forming the sanctuary. West of the nave are the tower and spire. The outside walls of the aisles are 4 feet thick; the inner walls separating the nave from the aisles are 3 feet thick; over the nave and aisles are built three semi-circular masses of brickwork, 2 feet thick, forming bomb-proof roofs of solid masonry. The builders had to think of possible contingencies such as cyclones and sieges, and built accordingly. No wood was used except for the doors and windows. Some slight additions were made during the 19th century; a vestry was built at the east end of each of the aisles, with flat masonry roofs supported by wooden beams; and the sanctuary was extended about 12 feet eastward for the formation of a choir; otherwise the building remains as it originally was, and is a monument of good workmanship........ In 1679 application was made to the Lord Bishop of London for the consecration of the Church....... Accordingly the Bishop of London issued a Commission to Streynsham Master to administer the oaths to the Chaplain. He then issued a Commission to Richard Portman (the Chaplain of the settlement) to consecrate the Church, and licensed him to officiate in it. The instrument of consecration was then prepared; and all the papers, accompanied by minute instructions how to proceed at every step, were forwarded to Streynsham Master. The documents arrived in the month of October 1680 with the ships of that season. On the 28th of the same month—St. Simon and St. Jude's Day—the English inhabitants of the settlement assembled in the Church; the Governor and the Members of Council proceeded thither in state with their official roundels carried over them; Richard Portman took the oaths, received his commission to consecrate and his licence to officiate, and consecrated the Church. (Pp. 80-83 of "The Church in Madras", Vol. I. By Rev. Frank Penny: (1904).

in the east side, the Church has remained much the same as it was originally built. It is full of mementos of men who have helped to make Madras history; and its narrow yard is literally paved with tomb-stones of various ages and with inscriptions in several languages. Those stones were removed from the stately tombs which were erected over the graves of dead Englishmen in the old English burying-place of the early settlement which lay in the present Law College compound. These tombs were used by the French as a cover during their siege of Madras in 1758-59. Hence the tombs themselves were destroyed with two exceptions which still stand in the grounds of the Law College; and all their stones were removed to St. Mary's church-yard. Many of these stones bear elaborate inscriptions in raised letters with fine floral borders.*

The Vestry of the Church

The Church registers date from its consecration and form a complete record except for the years 1746-49, when the city was in French possession. A congregation was organised on the model of an English parish with a Vestry over which the Governor usually presided. The Vestry controlled considerable funds and conducted schools till 1805. Its funds were derived from collections, fines and bequests. It organised a Charity School in 1715 and later raised the nucleus of the scheme for the Male and Female Orphan Asylums which, with many changes, have survived to our own day.

Master's attempt to acquire San Thome, Egmore and Tiruvottiyur

Master's attempt to secure outlying villages like San Thomé, Tiruvottiyur and Egmore, situated respectively south, north and west of Madraspatam, may be also noted. San Thomé had been farmed out by the Mussalmans to Kāsi Vīranna at a rent of 1,300 pagodas per annum; and the latter spent a large sum of money in the construction of new houses at the place in order to get it repopulated. In 1678, Master

* Many of the inscriptions on the stones are given in Ch. XVIII (The monuments of the old cemetery) in Mrs. Penny's *Fort St. George* (1900).

applied to the Sultan of Golconda for the lease of the three villages, though it was feared that the possession of San Thomé would involve the English in future quarrels with the Moors, the Portuguese, the French and the Dutch all of whom claimed it. Master was hopeful of getting a profit from the renting of that place and was even prepared to offer a consideration to the famous Golconda prime minister, Madanna Pant, through Viraraghavayya, the Brahman *vakil* of the English, for the farming of the three villages, at somewhat higher rents than they fetched. He said that the *farman* of 1676 granted to the English favours that were enjoyed by the other nations like the Dutch, who had been permitted to rent villages near Pulicat.

Exactions of Lingappa

Podili Lingappa, the Nawab's governor for the coast country, proved a very troublesome man. He resided at Conjeevaram and governed the Poonamallee country through a kinsman of his. Lingappa had been intriguing with Kasi Viranna even in the time of Governor Langhorne. In 1678, he informed Viranna that he would be prepared, in consideration of a loan to be given to him, to further the affairs of the English of Madras at the Sultan's court. Master was at first indifferent to this offer and declared that the English recognised no other authority than that of the Sultan himself and of his immediate representative, Nawab Ibrahim Khan. Lingappa was very crafty and even intrigued with the English vakil, Viraraghavayya, who was the son of Venkatapathi, the Brahman, and had succeeded to his father's office in 1675. The *vakil* was dismissed by Master for showing undue friendliness with Lingappa, but afterwards restored.

Master's troubles with him

In 1678, Lingappa put an embargo upon all paddy coming into Madras except through Poonamallee wherein he could levy exorbitant duties at his will. Three years later, he completely prohibited the entry of any kind of goods coming into Madras; and Master had thereupon to send a body of soldiers and peons to

requisition rice and fire-wood. This he had to do on several occasions. Lingappa wanted to withdraw all the coiners and shroffs from Madras and endeavoured to stop the coining of pagodas in the mint at the Fort. In 1682, he was exalted in his official rank and entrusted with all the authority over the country that Nawab Neknam Khan had previously enjoyed. Kasi Viranna had died in 1680; and Lingappa, freed from his intercessions, naturally tried to raise his demands on the English. He declared that he would insist upon the raising of the rent for Madras from 1,200 to 2,000 pagodas. Master's successful defiance of Lingappa's demands deserves our attention. He was not, however, able to secure the three villages on which he had set his attention. They were acquired partly in 1693 and partly later. These three villages had several smaller hamlets dependent upon them.*

His supersession by William Gyfford (1681)

Master had no end of trouble with the Directors at home, who were convinced that the safety of their trade depended only upon the *farmans* and *cowles* that they might obtain from the Indian rulers. Master felt that English safety depended upon their military strength and fortifications. The Directors attributed all the troubles that befell Madras to his pride and presumption, though it was pointed out to them that his administration had brought about an increase in the population

* Thus San Thomé had the subordinate hamlets of "Pallacawrana, Nammangalam, Olandor, Nandambawca, Mambalam and Sattevido." Tiruvottiyur comprehended the hamlets of "Sattangawdo, Chedayamcuppam, Tandore, Yerradalachery, Ernoar, and Cartivawca"; Egmore included the villages of "Porishawaca, Pudapawca, Vepery, Keepawca, Chettypatta, Omanjacca, Lumgabawca, Roshana, Buduro and Agaram." It is easy to discover the names of Pallavaram, Alandur, Mambalam, Sattangadu, Tondiarpet, Ernavur, Kattiwakam, Purasawakam, Pudupakkam, Kilpauk, Chetput, Aminjikkarai, Nungambakam and others in the list of villages. It was only in 1693 that the English obtained the villages of Egmore, Purasawalkam and Tondiarpet on a conditional grant from the Mughals. These three villages came to be known as "three old Towns" or, including Triplicane, as the "the four old Towns." In 1708, the English came into occupation of five villages, namely, Tiruvottiyur, Nungambakam, Vyasarpady, Kattiwakam (Ennore) and Sattangadu, by grant of Nawab Daud Khan. These places were henceforward known as "the five new villages." Periamet

and revenues of the settlement. He was gruffly and unceremoniously recalled and superseded by William Gyfford early in June 1681.*

Rule of Governor Gyfford (1681-87)

William Gyfford had previously served in Madras under Chamber and Winter. He was specially commissioned to suppress the interlopers, to improve the revenues of Madras and to establish a factory or factories to the southward. In August 1684, he went out on a tour of inspection of the factories in the Bay and left Elihu Yale in charge of the administration. He resumed office in January 1685 and continued to be Governor till he was superseded by Mr. Yale in 1687. Gyfford was a man of peace and easily yielded to pressure.

The trouble from interlopers—Thomas Pitt

The new Governor was given special instructions by the Directors to put down the interlopers (*i.e.*, those Englishmen who traded with the East without the Company's permission and infringed its monopoly). He had not strength enough to suppress them; and they now began to trouble the coast in larger numbers than ever. The most powerful of these interlopers was Thomas Pitt who subsequently rose to be the

and Vepery were wedged in between Egmore and Purasawakam. Vepery was received from, Safdar Ali's son, the boy-Nawab of the Carnatic in 1742 along with four villages, *viz.*, Ernavore, Sadayankuppam, (both near Tiruvottiyur), Perambur and Pudupakkam. It was only in 1749 that the English contrived to occupy San Thomé and the subordinate town of Mylapore in the name of their ally, Nawab Muhammad Ali.

* A curious incident occurred in Madras on the 22nd December 1680. This was the appearance of the celebrated comet, known as Newton's Comet. The appearance of this comet is thus described in the Consultations of the Council. "Wednesday, 22nd December, 1680. The Blazing Star, which in the middle of the month of November, appeared about four in the morning, in the middle of this month (December) appeared in the evening just at the setting of the sun, and does now appear to degrees above the horizon, at half an hour after six at night, the tail pointing to the north-east 65 degrees long."

This Comet is important because "it first attracted the attention of Newton to planetary astronomy; and it was with reference to it that the law of gravitation was first applied in the calculation of a comet's orbit."

Governor of Madras and was the grandfather of the great Earl of Chatham. Even as early as 1679, Pitt had become troublesome at Madras and was persuaded into giving a promise to become a law-abiding inhabitant of the city and submitting a bond of 500 pagodas for good conduct. Apparently he did not keep his promise. Renewed complaints were made about him in the next year 1680 and in the succeeding years.

Defence of Black Town

Gyfford was also ordered to increase the revenues of the settlement and improve the defences of Black Town. But when the people protested on this occasion, he was weak enough to remit the dues and gave way easily to the demands of the Mussalman governor of Poonamallee. The Directors quickly changed their opinion of him; they began calling him their "Worthy Agent"; some time later, he was "that heavy President" and "our too easy Governor"; and finally they accused him of having "not only lost his first love for our service, but also his understanding along with it."

Police arrangements for Black Town—The Pedda Nayak

Gyfford laboured hard to bring about a re-organisation of the police arrangements for the Black Town which had grown up close to the White Town and which occupied the site of the present northern glacis of the Fort, part of the western glacis and the grounds of the Law College and the High Court. The Pedda Nayak was now asked to employ additional peons for police purposes and to attend on the Governor whenever he went abroad. He was to make good whatever was lost in robbery by the inhabitants and was to bring back any trader or artisan if he should run away from the town. The office of the Pedda Nayak was almost co-eval with the foundation of the settlement. In 1659 a cowle was given to him by Sir Thomas Chamber according to which he was to enjoy, duty-free, 18 paddy-fields in the suburb now known as Peddanaickenpetta, together with several petty customs on paddy, fish, oil, betel-nut and pepper. In return, the Nayak helped the administration; and his allowances were confirmed.

The new *cowle* from Golconda

Gyfford endeavoured to make peace with Lingappa and to get a new *cowle* from the Sultan of Golconda. Lingappa demanded a very high peshkash for himself and gave his protection to the interlopers. He received a very large amount, namely 7,000 pagodas, on condition that the interlopers should no longer be protected; and he secured a new *cowle* from Golconda which continued the rent of Madras at 1,200 pagodas per annum. It was also in Gyfford's time that negotiations were entered into for acquiring factories in the Gingee country. Elihu Yale, then a member of Council, was sent down to Gingee to secure from its Maratha ruler a *cowle* permitting the British to settle and trade at Porto Novo, Cuddalore, and Kunimedu (January 1682). Settlements were duly made at Porto Novo and Cuddalore and a factory was built at Kunimedu. The Directors sanctioned the building of a fort equipped with guns at some suitable place in the Gingee country and also asked that negotiations might be begun for the purchase of Tranquebar from the Danes, if they should be willing to sell it. The Maratha havildar of Porto Novo paid a visit to Madras and very cleverly broached the question of a loan, whereupon he was told that the matter would be considered when Harji Raja of Gingee should have given permission for the construction of a fort at Porto Novo or Cuddalore. The establishment at Porto Novo was withdrawn in a few years to Cuddalore.

Acquisition of settlements in the Gingee country

Fears of Mughal attack

Gyfford had to be very watchful as the Emperor Aurangzib was engaged in the conquest and annexation of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda and was expected at any time to send an army of occupation towards the south. He deemed it necessary to prepare Madras to withstand a possible siege by the Mughals and consequently to repair the walls and the gateways and lay in stores of grain and a large quantity of fresh water within the Fort. Barracks were also erected for the garrison of the Fort to the west of the Citadel.

Among events of domestic importance connected with the rule of Gyfford may be mentioned (*a*) the establishment of the "Madras Bank," an institution which was in reality started in the reign of Charles II, though it is popularly referred to the Governorship of Lord William Bentinck in the first decade of the present nineteenth century"; (*b*) the proceedings taken to prevent the exportation of slaves from the settlement; and (*c*) the establishment of a Court of Admiralty in the place of the High Court of Judicature started in the time of Governor Master.

(*a*) Talboys Wheeler* makes mention of the Proceedings of the Council, dated 21st June 1683, ordering the creation of a bank according to the Company's instructions, to the value of 100,000 pounds sterling, at 6 per cent.; and authorizing that bank to receive deposits of money at 6 per cent. interest for periods not less than 6 months and to give receipts for such amounts under the Company's seal.

A Joint-Stock of Madras Merchants.—'Cassa Verona and Company'

We also hear of a joint-stock company, called Cassa Verona and Company, of which Kasi Viranna who had for long been a most influential merchant and associate Chief Merchant along with Timmanna, and became the sole Chief Merchant after the latter's death in 1678, was the predominant partner. All the orders for the Company's investment and for the purchase of Indian goods for export to England were given to Viranna for execution through his agents. Viranna and Timmanna had enjoyed, for a number of years, the privilege of paying only half customs in all the dominions of Golconda, after the manner of the privilege enjoyed by Seshadri Nayak. Viranna had bequeathed his share in the joint-stock company to the sons and brothers of Timmanna, and died in 1680 being succeeded as Chief Merchant by Pedda Venkatadri, a brother of Timmanna.†

* *Madras in the Olden Time* (1882)—p. 71.

† Viranna died towards the end of March 1680 and his funeral was honoured by the firing of thirty guns from the Fort. He left only one daughter. He was marked by a remarkable partiality for

(b) In 1683 the Governor and Council ordered that no more slaves should be shipped from Madras because of "the great number of slaves yearly exported from this place to the great grievance of many persons whose children are very commonly privately stolen away from them." The Dutch had encouraged this slave trade, particularly in famine years, for the sake of obtaining labour for their plantations in the East Indies. An order in English, Portuguese, Tamil and Telugu, forbidding

Islam; and it was believed that he had even become a convert to it He had a Mussalman *alias*, Hassan Khan, by which name he was known at the court of Golconda. He had even built a masjid in Madras; and when his body was being borne to the burning-ghat, a crowd of Mussalmans prevented the continuance of the procession and claimed that he ought to be buried as a Mussalman. The Governor and Council ordered, however, that the body should be burnt according to Hindu rities and not buried by the Mussalmans, as they apprehended that it would be dangerous "to admit the Moors such pretences in the town." His last wife would have been burnt along with his body, but the Governor would not permit it. This is the earliest instance of prohibition of *sati* by the Government.

Viranna's personality

The Directors resolved to honour Viranna with the present of a gold chain and medal, but since he died before the presentation could be made, their mercantile minds made them change their resolve and turn the gold of the chain and medal into pagodas.

The Joint-Stock of Indian Merchants and its organisation

After Viranna's death, Pedda Venkatadri was associated in the control of the firm along with Muttu Viranna and Alangatha Pillai,—the builder of a pagoda, supposed to be the present Ekambareswarar Temple in Mint Street—these three holding one-fourth part of the joint-stock. Other prominent merchants of the time were Sura Venkanna, Ariappa Chetty, Muttu Chetty Pasumarti Kasiah, Pattikal Bala Chetty, Ranga Chetty and Chitty Preto. The joint stock was managed by representatives of the share-holders, twelve in number. Of them two who were the heads of all were to keep the seals and summon the others to meetings; two had charge of the cash chests, three were responsible for the Indian goods for export and two for the merchandise imported from England for disposal; and the remaining three were to look after the washers, beaters, weavers, painters and dyers. All the twelve were to meet twice a week for business. They selected twenty of the junior merchants not of the Committee to go up-country and make purchases. The joint-stock was reorganised in the time of Governor Yale with a capital of 20,000 pagodas divided into 200 shares, which were distributed among 76 merchants. The scheme of management referred to above was now drawn up. The senior chief merchants were Chinna Venkatadri and Alangatha Pillai, the latter succeeding the former in the first place on his death in 1689.

the transportation of people for purposes of slavery, was drafted for being put up in prominent places in the town. Any man acting contrary to this order was to be fined 50 pagodas for every slave shipped by him; and of this fine, one-third was to be given to the informer and one-third to the poor.

The creation of an Admiralty Court (1686)

(c) We have already noticed the formation of the High Court of Judicature under Master. Now, by a charter of 1683, the Company ordered the appointment of a Judge-Advocate for the hearing of all suits with the assistance of two merchants; and consequently the old Court of Judicature was silenced. This charter gave the Company full power to declare and make war and peace with heathen-nations, to raise and keep military forces and to exercise martial law in their jurisdiction. The same charter established a court of judicature presided over by a civil judge and two assistants, with power to hear and determine all cases of forfeiture of ships or goods trading contrary to the charter and also all mercantile and maritime cases, including injuries and wrongs done on the high seas, "according to the rules of equity and good conscience, and according to the laws and customs of merchants." A Judge-Advocate was sent to Surat; and it was provided that the President at Madras should supply the place of Judge-Advocate till one should arrive. Thus the old Court of Judicature continued for a time. The Court of Admiralty was established in Madras only in 1686, its judge and his two assistants being Members of Council and civil servants of the Company. But the Justices of the Peace were not interfered with. Later, a Judge-Advocate was appointed from England, who was made third in Council and was appointed to preside at the Quarter Sessions. Courts-martial were also proclaimed under the authority of the charter. The Governor usually presided at the trial of pirates; but occasionally the Judge-Advocate sat for such trials.

We saw how Master planned to levy a house tax which was stoutly opposed by the Indian residents of the city though it

was declared that the proceeds were to be utilised for the purposes of conservancy. Gyfford made an attempt to levy a house-tax in order to defray the expenses of the new fortifications of the Indian Town and the charges of the garrison. On his arrival, the Indian residents had complained to him about Master's attempted impositoin of a tax, whereupon he had remitted it in order to please them. But he was, unfortunately compelled by Sir Josiah Child, the masterful Governor of the Company, to levy a new tax in the place of the old one. Child wrote in 1682 that Madras should defray "the whole constant charge of the place" and ordered that the revenue must somehow be raised, leaving, however, the manner of its raising to the discretion of the Governor and Council. This order was vigorously repeated. Acting under pressure, Gyfford and his Council proposed to levy a small tax on the Indian residents to be paid monthly and suggested that, as an alternative, they were prepared to receive the amount of the tax as a voluntary contribution. It was then proclaimed that all the inhabitants, English, Portuguese, Moors and Hindus, should be invited to make a voluntary contribution; but the sum of 500 pagodas per annum which had been promised for the last three years by the heads of the different Hindu castes was to be demanded and realised even by pressure. The heads of the castes pleaded they had been exempt from paying such taxes and were always paying customs. At first they were persuaded to pay a house-tax, varying from three *fanams* to nine *fanams,* according to the size of the dwellings. When an attempt was made, under peramptory instructions from Child, to collect the tax, the inhabitants struck from their work, hindered the opening of the shops and prevented the entry of grain. Soldiers had to be drawn out to suppress the tumult and to guard the gates. The chiefs of the different castes were threatened with the destruction of their houses and the merchants with the confiscation of their shops and a fine of ten pagodas each. At last the heads of the castes

The proposed tax

Popular resistance to it

begged pardon for their mutinous conduct, but pleaded that they should be relieved from the proposed charge. They promised obedience, but did not really render it. Child insisted that some revenue should be raised and wrote angrily in 1686 that a ground or quit-rent should be imposed on every house, or, in lieu of it, a small poll-tax per head.

Storm and cyclone

Thus the Governorship of Mr. Gyfford ran on to its close amidst domestic discontent and fears of Mughal attack. In 1687, there was a terrible storm which raged on the coast for four days resulting in the destruction of shipping. Two years previously, a cyclone had struck the Madras coast with devastating effect. Elihu Yale succeeded Gyfford in the latter part of 1687, shortly after Sir John Biggs, the newly appointed Judge-Advocate, had arrived from England to take charge of the court recently established.

VIII

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF ELIHU YALE (1687-92) AND OF NATHANIEL HIGGINSON (1692-98)

A PERIOD OF FURTHER GROWTH

Governor Yale—His name given to an American University

GOVERNOR Yale had been 15 years in India before he was raised to his high office, which he occupied for 5 years. He continued to live at Madras for several years after his retirement from the Governorship. He amassed a large fortune which he spent very liberally. After he returned from India he lived for a number of years in England. In honour of his having been born near Boston in America, where his father had emigrated for a time, he gave help to the Collegiate School of Connecticut with a parcel of books and pictures from which a sum of £ 560 was realised. "In recognition of his munificence, the College, and subsequently the University which grew out of it, were called by his name as the Yale University."

His personality

Yale had come out to India as a young man in 1672, had served under Master and possessed, like him, a strong character. He was very popular both with the Europeans and Indians, kept up his dignity and maintained a brave front towards the Indian powers. He was married to the widow of Joseph Hynmers, a servant of the Company and had several children by her. He lost at Madras his only son David; and the tomb of the latter can even now be seen in what was the old cemetery of the city. It is said that the marriage of Yale was the first of its kind to take place within the new Saint Mary's Church in the Fort. The new Governor kept a free house and entertained royally. His predecessor, Gyfford, was a very sickly man and generally lived in the new Garden-House of the Company (in the grounds of the present General Hospital); and the Directors had naturally complained of having had to keep up two establishments and two tables—the one in the Fort House and the second in the

Garden-House. Yale reverted to the former practice of living in the Fort House and dining at the general table with the Merchants, Writers and Factors. Whenever he required relaxation, he retired to his private garden-house, which he kept up after the fashion of the other prominent merchants of the place.

The hoisting of the Union Jack in the Fort for the first time

Soon after Yale became Governor, the Union Jack was hoisted upon the Fort bastion "in the place of the Company's flag which showed two roundlets on a red field." This occasion was celebrated by a large gathering of the European and the Indian residents of the town, when the poor were fed, several prisoners were released, the soldiers were made "as merry as punch could make them," and the principal residents dined on a handsome repast and healths were drunk and toasts given in Madeira and Shiraz wines. Volleys were fired and 31 guns went off in honour of the King, 21 for the Company and 19 for the imperious Sir Josiah Child, under whose instructions Yale was a willing tool.

Child suggests a Corporation for Madras

The most important event during Yale's Governorship was the institution of a Mayor and Corporation for the city of Madras. The Corporation of Madras is the earliest of its kind in British India. The significance of its creation was not sufficiently stressed by historians like Mill and Thornton. The originator of the idea was Sir Josiah Child, who had already been making the fire and vigour of his pen felt strongly by the Madras Council. The idea of a municipal organisation for Madras was taken by Child from the practice of the Dutch government in the East Indies. In the general letter to Madras dated the 28th September 1687, Child detailed a plan for the formation of a Corporation composed of Indians mixed with some Englishmen and equipped with a regular Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses, a Recorder and a Town Clerk and armed with power to decide petty cases and to levy rates upon the inhabitants for the

building of schools, of a Town Hall and a Jail. This elaborate letter is given *in extenso* below.*

* But if you could contrive a form of a Corporation to be established, of the Natives mixed with some English freemen, for aught we know some public use might be made thereof; and we might give the members some privileges and pre-eminencies by Charter under our seal, that might please them (as all men are naturally with a little power); and we might make a public advantage of them, without abating essentially any part of our dominion when we please to exert it. And it is not unlikely that the heads of the several castes, being made Aldermen and some others Burgesses, with power to choose but of themselves yearly their Mayor, and to tax all the inhabitants for a Town Hall, or any public buildings for themselves to make use of— your people would more willingly and liberally disburse five shilling towards the public good; being taxed by themselves, than six pence imposed by our despotical power (notwithstanding they shall submit to when we see cause), were Government to manage such a society, as to make them proud of their honour and preferment, and yet only ministerial, and subservient to the ends of the Government, which under us is yourselves.

"We direct nothing positively in this, but refer it to your consideration, and, if you think it may redound to the public good, and that you may the better adapt it to the good of the place, and establishing of our absolute power over it, and unto some similitude to the forms of such Corporations in England where there is always a Governor, a superior power and a garrison, we have thought fit to send you a copy of the late Charter granted by His Majesty to the Borough of Portsmouth, where Sir John Biggs (Judge of the new Court of Admiralty at Madras) was Recorder, and understands well not only that constitution, but the practical way of proceeding it.

"We know this can be no absolute platform for you. You may make great alterations according to the nature of the place and the people, and the difference of laws, customs, and almost everything else, between England and India; but this will serve as a foundation from whence to begin your considerations and debates concerning this affair; which will require great wisdom and much thinking to create such a Corporation in Madras, as will be beneficial to the Company and place, without the least diminution of the sovereign power His Majesty has entrusted us with, and which we are resolved to exercise there during His Majesty's royal pleasure and confidence in us.

"Upon the whole matter, if you think any such constitution beneficial, and shall send us a Charter filled up with the names of the first and modern Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses,—the proper habits and ornaments we shall enjoin them to wear in the Court House and upon all other solemn occasions—and what maces, or ensigns of authority, we shall admit to be carried before them by their proper officers or serjeants,—we shall consider of it, and probably return it to you, engrossed under our larger seal, with none or very little alteration.

"We conceive their Court Books must always be kept in the English tongue; and the Town Clerk must always be an Englishman that can speak Portuguese and Gentoo; and their Recorder must be

Oath to be taken by the members of the Corporation

Child was particular that the Court of Aldermen should be composed of three English freemen, three Portuguese and seven Moors and Hindus; and that the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses should, before they entered upon their offices, take an oath to be true and faithful to the English King and to the Company; and that the three English Aldermen should always be servants of the Company.

the same. The habit of the Aldermen in that hot country, we think ought to be thin scarlet silk gowns; their number twelve, besides the Mayor; that they may be allowed to have kettysols (umbrellas) over them. The Burgesses to wear black silk gowns; their number to be limited to 60, 80 or 100 as you shall find most convenient. The serjeants attending them, to bear silver Maces gilt, not exceeding one yard in length. All officers to be elected by the Mayor and Aldermen, with the approbation of our President, and to be paid by the Corporation such reasonable salaries as the Mayor and Aldermen shall think fit; and to have such fees established by the Mayor and Aldermen as shall be settled and appointed by them with the approbation of our President and Council. And, to give the Mayor and some of the Aldermen power to be always Justices of the Peace, as in the Portsmouth Charter, and to have power to try all causes that shall be brought before them—to erect a proper prison for the use of the Corporation, and to award judgement and execution in all causes that shall be exhibited before them. The judgement to go always according to the sense of the Mayor and major part of the Aldermen present. But if any party thinks himself injured in a cause exceeding the value of twenty shillings by the sentence of the said Mayor and Aldermen,—the party offended may appeal for a rehearing to our Judge and Judicature of the Admiralty; who shall determine any cause brought before them by appeal within two court days next after the appeal brought; and their determination shall be final. In all civil causes, any party grieved by the sentence of the said Mayor and Aldermen, or any Mayor or Justice of the said Corporation, may appeal to our President and Council for redress, who shall determine thereof the very next Council day ensuing to the end that Justice be not delayed.

"We think it may be convenient that in the said Court of Aldermen being twelve beside the Mayor, there should never be above three English freemen and three Portuguese; the other seven to be Moors and Gentoos. But if you find any inconvenience or inconsistency, in the particulars we have propounded you may correct or alter them in draught you send us for such a Corporation.

"All fines levied in the said Corporation shall be half to the use of the Company, and the other half to the use of the Corporation; and in regard Sir John Biggs went over so well instructed as to the raising of some petty duties for the Company's new Court of Admiralty, we shall need to say no more of that now, but expect to hear from you and him, how you have regulated that matter for the benefit of the Company and use of the inhabitants.

In this elaborate letter, Child invited the Madras Governor and Council to offer their own suggestions to his draft schemes. But yet within three months of his first letter, he and the Deputy President of the Company had an audience with King James; and it was determined at this audience to send out a ready-drawn Charter under the Company's seal for the formation of the Madras Corporation; and along with

Child sends a ready drawn Charter for Corporation. (December 1687)

"If you should find such a Corporation as aforesaid advisable to be instituted, it would be most convenient that all debates in the Court of Aldermen should be in English (if it were possible); but if that cannot be at present, you must contrive methods to bring it to that in time.

"If the officers of the Court of Aldermen should seize any Englishmen for drunkenness or any such like crime, they are not to be resisted; but every Englishman is to be carried before the President or some English Justice of the Peace, and not to be judged or censured by any foreigner in a criminal cause. But in an action civil or personal, between an Englishman and any foreigner, the Court of Aldermen, by the Mayor's vote, shall judge and determine without appeal, if the value be under three pagodas; but if it be above three pagodas any party aggrieved may appeal to our Court of Admiralty as aforesaid.

"The Mayor and two Aldermen shall be a quorum for the trial of petty causes; but no duty shall be levied upon the inhabitants for public structures, officers' salaries or other ornaments, but with the consent of the Mayor and at least six of the Aldermen.

"The Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses, and all their officers, before they enter upon their respective trusts shall take an oath to be true and faithful to His Majesty, to the Company and to the Company's General of India for the time being.

"The Court of Admiralty may, by virtue of the powers granted by our intended Charter, assess and levy a rate upon the inhabitants for the building of one or more free school or schools for teaching the English tongue to Gentoos or Moors, or other Indian children; and for salaries to the school-masters, and by degrees for many other public good works, their constitution being to be so framed that our President and Council shall always influence their debates and resolutions.

"Your three English Aldermen are always to be the Company's servants, and when any of them for any cause, cease to be the Company's servants, they are to cease to be Aldermen; and our President and Council are to nominate and appoint some other of the Company's servants to be Aldermen in the room and stead of such English Aldermen so removed from the Company's service.

"If any doubt arise concerning the true meaning or exercise of the powers intended by such a Charter, our President and Council are to be determine all such doubts; and all persons are to conform to their determination until our own minds be further declared therein.

this Charter which was issued by the Company on the 30th December 1687, were sent out the Maces and the Sword together with orders that the Corporation should be immediately started. "Our Town of Fort St. George, commonly the Christian Town and City of Madrassapatam upon the coast of Coromandel in the East Indies and all the territories thereunto belonging not exceeding the distance of 10 miles from Fort St. George, to be a Corporation under us by the name and title of the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Town of Fort St. George and City of Madrassapatam," was the heading of the Charter. There were to be twelve Aldermen and sixty Burgesses. Mr. Nathaniel Higginson,

The first Mayor and Aldermen

"Besides the copy of the Portsmouth Charter to help your invention, we have drawn a similar form of Charter with such alteration as we apprehend necessary at present, which you may alter and add thereunto as you see cause, and then return another draught to us, with the blanks filled up with the names of all such persons as you think fittest to be the first and modern constitution.

"In your nomination of the first Aldermen, and for ever hereafter, you must observe not to make two brothers at the same time Aldermen, nor any that are near kindred; but so mix the heads of all castes in that Court that you may always hold the balance. Many other particulars of this and other kinds, you may find wisely provided for in the Dutch papers before mentioned, which will be worth your studying and frequent perusal.

"Our design in the whole is to set up the Dutch Government among the English in the Indies (than which a better cannot be invented) for the good of posterity, and to put us upon an equal footing of power with them to offend or defend, or enlarge the English dominion and unite the strength of our nation under one entire and absolute command subject to us; as we are and ever shall be most dutifully to our own sovereign. But this distinction we will make, that we will always observe our own old English terms, *viz.*, Attorney-General instead of Fiscal, Aldermen instead of Scepin, Burgesses instead of Burghers, Serjeants instead of Bailies, President and Agent instead of Commander, Director or Commissary, etc. And this with His Majesty's approbation we are resolved to pursue steadily, and throw everything out of the way that obstructs or retards this good and great reformation."

The charter was granted by the Governor and Company of Merchants on the 30th December, 1687—they "having found by experience and the practice of other European nations in India that the making and establishment of Corporations in Cities and Towns that are grown exceeding populous tends more to the well governing of such populous places, and to the increase of trade, than the constant use of martial law in trivial concerns, we have therefore...., for the speedier determination of small controversies of little moment,

Second in Council, was nominated the first Mayor. Three other English Members of the Council, three Portuguese merchants, three Jewish merchants—there was a fair-sized Jewish colony in Madras at that time—and three Hindus were nominated Aldermen in the Charter itself. These latter were Chinna Venkatadri, the younger brother of Beri Timmanna whom he succeeded in the office of Chief Merchant, Mooda Verona who was also Chief Merchant for some time and Alangatha Pillai who was the builder of the Ekambareswarar Temple in Mint Street. A new Mayor was to be elected on the 29th of September every year; and the Charter itself was to come into force from the 29th September 1688. The Mayor and Aldermen were to be a Court of Record; and the Mayor and three of the Aldermen were to be Justices of the Peace. The Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature that was created was to be the Recorder of the Corporation; and a Town Clerk who was also to be a notary, was to be elected.

Inauguration of the Corporation (29th September 1688)

On the appointed date, 29th September 1688, the Corporation was inaugurated with all due solemnity, the Mayor and others taking their respective oaths. After dinner towards three in the afternoon, the whole Corporation marched in their several robes, the Aldermen in scarlet serge gowns and the Burgesses in white China silk with the Mace carried before the Mayor in procession to the Town Hall.*

frequently happening among the unarmed inhabitants, thought it convenient to make, ordain and constitute. Our Town of Fort St. George.........." The preamble stresses upon the necessity of providing magisterial jurisdiction over petty offences as the first duty of the Corporation.

* "According to yesterday's summons, the President and Council met at the Fort Hall, to advise about the establishing of the Corporation of this city, where were present all,—the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Burgesses in town; when it was agreed to meet in their Gowns and Ornaments at the Town Hall on the 29th instant. The Aldermen in scarlet serge gowns, and the Burgesses in white China silk, to consult about the choosing whom they shall think fit to make up the number of Aldermen appointed by the Charter.

According to this day's appointment, the President, Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Burgesses and chief of the inhabitants met at the

Mr. Higginson served only six months as Mayor and resigned. He was succeeded in his office by Mr. Littleton.

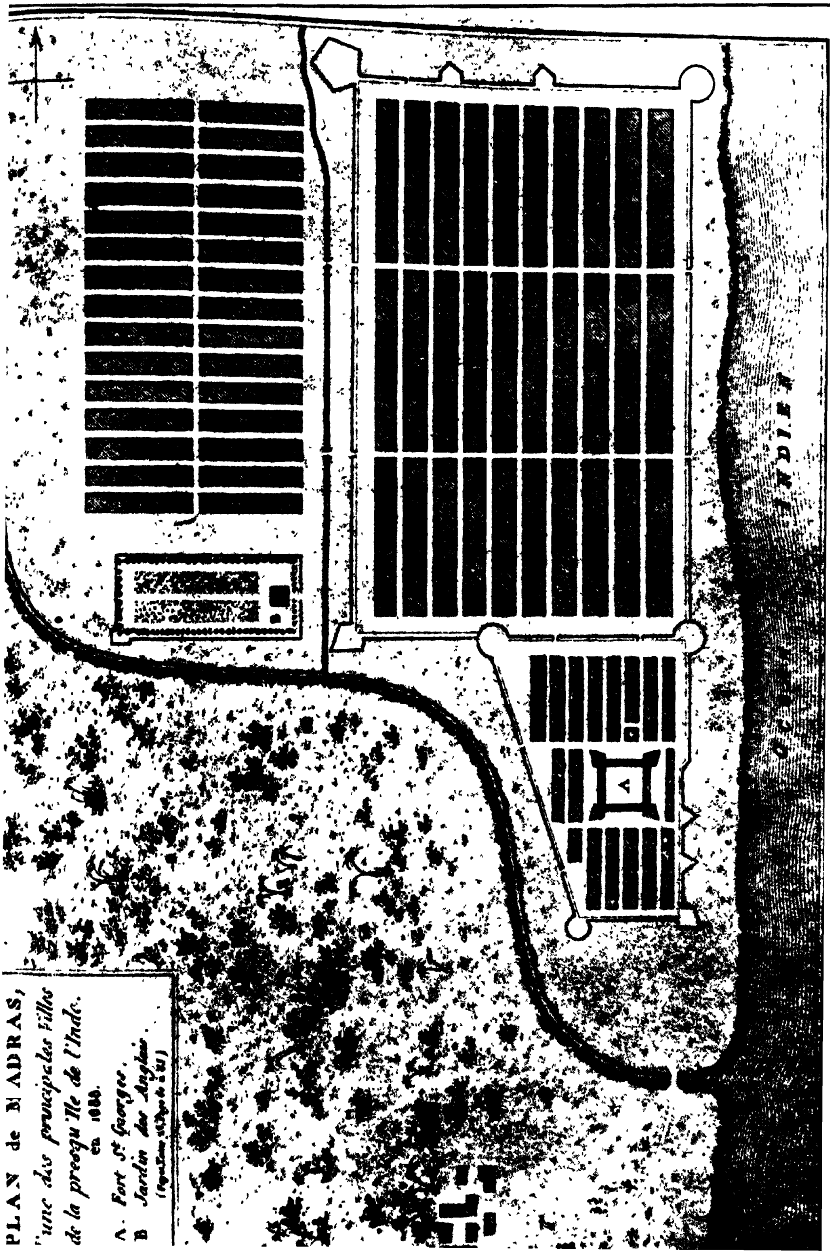
The first troubles in the Corporation

The Corporation soon complained that they had no revenues or funds for carrying out the works expected of them like the construction of a Town Hall, School-house, etc. The Council gave them the right to collect the existing petty taxes of paddy-toll, measuring and weigher's duty and brokerage paid by the town-brokers. But these sources of revenue were applied to other objects than those which the Corporation Charter had specified; and there quickly arose a quarrel between the Governor and Mayor's Court. The Governor had, meanwhile, quarrelled with several of his Councillors some of whom were Aldermen; and he now proposed to withdraw these taxes from the purview of the Corporation. These differences were supplemented by other causes of quarrel between the Governor and the Mayor's Court. Under the Charter there was a right of appeal from the Mayor's Court to the Court of Admiralty. But since the latter court became extinct in 1689 on the death of its Judge, the Mayor's Court held that its own decisions were final. Yale objected to this and the quarrel was made the bitterer on this account, as explained below.

In 1692, the Company complained that there were so early as 1690 as many as eight English Aldermen in the Corporation and desired that the body of Aldermen should be composed of the heads of several castes like the Armenians, the Hebrews, the Portuguese, the Hindus and the Moors.

Fort Hall; before whom the Right Honorable Company's Charter was publicly read by the Secretary. After which the President administered oaths to the Mayor and Recorder for their due performance of their places; and then the Mayor and Recorder did the like to the Aldermen and Burgesses, in their several manner and forms. A while after went to dinner, and about three in the evening the whole Corporation marched in their several robes, with the Maces before the Mayor to the Town Hall." (Fort St. George Consultations dated 13th September, 1688 and 29th September, 1688)

(from L. Langlès)



The first Mayor Mr. Higginson, offered to resign his office soon after his acceptance of it on the ground that his existing official duties were very heavy. Therefore, it was resolved that the Mayor's Court should be held only once a fortnight and that two of the Aldermen who were also Justices of the Peace, should sit twice a week at the Choultry in order to deal with "small offences and complaints to the amount of 2 Pagodas fine or award." The Mayor and Aldermen were to be a Court of Record for the town; and the Mayor and the three senior Aldermen were also to be Justices of the Peace. The Mayor's Court could try all cases, civil and criminal. There was to be an appeal from it in civil cases only when the value of the award exceeded three pagodas, and in criminal cases when the offender was sentenced to lose life or limb. It could inflict fines, corporal punishment and imprisonment.

The working of the Mayor's Court

The Mayor's Court was to have a Recorder, being an English-born covenanted servant of the Company. Sir John Biggs, the Judge-Advocate, was to be the first Recorder. When he died in 1689, the Court of Admiralty, which was also called the Supreme Court, was declared extinct. According to the Charter there was a right of appeal from the Mayor's Court to the Court of Admiralty. Now the Mayor's Court declared that their own decisions were final. The Mayor and some of the Aldermen were members of the Council; and they quarrelled over this with Governor Yale, who thought differently and countermanded some of the sentences of the Mayor's Court. On two occasions Yale forcibly released two Indian debtors from prison, saying that the imprisonment was very severe and that if such conduct should be persisted in, a large number of people might abandon their houses and run away from the place. He also cautioned the Court not to appoint Justices of the Choultry which was the function of Government.

Its quarrel with the Governor.

Government now resolved to erect a new court of judicature consisting of a Judge-Advocate and four Judges. The Governor

was to act as Judge-Advocate, pending an appointment from England. Of the four judges, one was to be an Armenian merchant, who was to enquire into causes concerning his own community and other foreigners. Another was to be the Company's Chief Merchant, Allingal (Alangatha) Pillai, the builder of the Ekambareswarar Pagoda, who was to appear for "the Natives, as well Gentues, Moores, and Mallabars." There was to be an Attorney-General for this court which lasted on till 1692, when the Company sent out a new Judge-Advocate.

New Court of Judicature

The Choultry Justices continued all this time; they were magistrates, and the senior among them was called the Chief Justice. The Aldermen of the Corporation sat also as Justices at the Choultry. Subsequently, when their work at the Mayor's Court increased, special Choultry Justices had to be nominated. (The Court of Admiralty, by fusion with the Recorder's Court created in 1796, became in 1801 the first Supreme Court appointed by the Crown; and the latter by fusion with the East India Company's Sudder Court became in 1862 the present High Court).

Settlement of the Armenians in Madras—First notice of them (1688-90)

The Armenian community first appeared as an important element in the population of Madras in 1689-90. A contract between an Armenian merchant, Coja Panous Calendar, a merchant of Ispahan, and Sir John Chardin, the noted traveller, on behalf of the Armenians and Sir Josiah Child on behalf of the Company, was drawn up in June 1688 by which the Armenians were given liberty to voyage in the Company's ships, to live in the Company's settlements in India and to enjoy all civil rights "in the same manner as if they were Englishmen born," and also to have "the free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own religion." They were also given right to trade with China and other places within the limits of the Company's Charter on the same terms as Englishmen. Copies of this contract were sent to Madras in August 1688 with an assurance that the Armenians would be

sober, frugal and very wise "in all the commodities and places of India."

Their privileges

Gregorio Peron and other Armenians of Madras petitioned to the Council to be exempted from all petty duties levied on their goods by the Pedda Nayak and other Indian officials, just as the English were exempted. The Council agreed to do so. We have already seen that Armenians were recommended for being appointed Aldermen; Sir Josiah Child had formed a very good opinion of Coja Panous and other Armenians. The Directors of the Company even sanctioned a plot of ground on which the Armenian settlers in Madras might erect a Church of their own and offered to build, in the first instance, a church of timber for their own use, which might later on be altered and to allow £50 annually for the maintenance of a priest. This speaks much of the good impression created by the Armenians on the Company.

The coinage of Madras

It may be interesting to note in this place the currency system prevailing in Madras. The indigenous pagoda of gold, worth about 8 shillings and 8⅝ *mattu* in fineness (10 *mattu* being characteristic of pure gold and corresponding to 24 carat) was the standard coin. It weighed about 53 grains, *i.e.*, ⅛ of the silver dollar or real of eight. 32 fanams went to make up a pagoda and 6 cash were equivalent to one fanam. Sometimes there was variation in the number of fanams to a pagoda. The fanam was nominally also of gold, but of 4¼ *mattu* of fineness. The English desired to coin silver rupees and copper pice after the Mughal model. They wanted to obtain from Golconda the right to coin rupees and, failing to do so, secured a patent from King James II under the Charter of 1686. In the next year, they resolved to coin rupees, similar in form, fineness and device to the Mughal rupee. They now struck silver fanam-pieces of four, two and one fanams value. It was only in 1692 that the Mughals authorised the Company to mint money according to their standards. Thus the English could strike the gold mohur and the silver

rupee. Soon orders were issued that there should be a fixed rate of 36 silver fanams to the pagoda. The number of pagodas to a gold mohur was 3·7 approximately; and the number of rupees to it was 10·9 approximately. The Madras Mint had begun to work as early as 1640.

Negotiations with the Mughals for the confirmation of the grants

President Yale had plenty of trouble with the Mughals who swallowed up Bijapur and Golconda and consequently became masters of their acquisitions in South India. Towards the end of 1687 Mughal authority was firmly established over the districts of Chingleput, Poonamallee and Conjeevaram. Unfortunately, at that time, the Company had determined to wage war against the Mughal power and had begun hostile action in Bengal, as a result of which the English factories in that province were overrun by the enemy and the factors themselves expelled. Agent Charnock* fled from the factory at Hugli and sought protection at Madras with his colleagues and family. The factories in the Northern Circars like Vizagapatam, Masulipatam and Maddapollam were next seized by the Mughals. This was in the course of 1689. The Council at Madras was apprehensive that their town would be next threatened and prepared for standing a siege. However, news was received in March 1690 that peace had been made with the Mughals and the Emperor had ordered *farmans* to be prepared for the English, restoring them to their previous rights and places of trade in Bengal and on the west coast. The *farman* for Madras and its subordinate factories could not be issued along with the others, because the Mughal authorities desired to have access to the original grants themselves. Some

The farman of Nawab Zulfikar Khan (1690)

of these were actually forwarded to the Mughal head-quarters; and in the return voyage from Surat, one of them—being an old gold plate Vijayanagar grant—was lost. In 1690, Nawab Zulfikar Khan was appointed the Mughal general in

* He remained in Madras for over a year and had his children baptised in the Fort Church. It was from Madras that he proceeded to found Calcutta.

charge of the operations in the Carnatic against the Marathas of Gingee. He now applied to the English for 200 maunds of gun-powder and a body of 500 soldiers; in return for this and for a further supply of powder, the Nawab gave Governor Yale a cowle confirming the existing grants for Madras and other English factories and settlements on the coast, including Masulipatam, Madapollam, Vizagapatam, Fort St. David, Cuddalore and Porto Novo. The cowle was dated December 1690.*

The English get the right to coin rupees (1692)

In 1692 the English got a further advantage, namely, the support of Prince Kam Baksh, the youngest son of the Emperor and Asad Khan, the Wazir of the Empire and father of Nawab Zulfikar Khan who had come down to the Carnatic. Yale sent two Englishmen to the Mughal camp before Gingee with a petition for the grant of certain privileges, of which three may be noted here; (1) the annual rent of 1,200 pagodas for Madras including Triplicane might be taken off; (2) that Tondiarpet, Pursawakam and Egmore be given over to the English rent-free; and (3) that the Madras Mint might have the liberty to coin rupees with the stamp of the great Mughal. The first requests were referred to the Emperor; but the last one was sanctioned by the Prince. On receipt of this sanction which was accompanied by a dress of honour for the Governor, guns were fired and return presents were given to the envoys to the Mughals.

* "Whereas in the time of the late shameless and faithless rebellion, the President of the English, Elihu Yale, Governor and Captain of Chennapattanam, protected and assisted Mohmoud Ali and other servants of the Moghul, and supplied me with powder with other services; in consideration whereof I have made and given this my cowle or grant. That the rent of the Fort and Factory of Chennapatanam with accustomary privileges, the English Factories of Metchlepatam, Maddapollam, Vizagapatam, etc., within the territories of the Golconda country, also their settlements and Factories of Devanampatnam, Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Trimlevassil, etc., within the territories of Gingee, according to the former custom and the usual practice of the English, let it remain undisturbed in Sallabad." (Translation of the *farman* received from Zulfikar Khan).

Governorship of Yale and Higginson

The English at Madras and the Marathas—Acquisition of Fort St. David (1690)

The English at Madras had also difficulties with the Maratha power that had planted itself in Gingee in the time of Sivaji. Their factory at Cuddalore saw some action in its neighbourhood between the Marathas and the Mughals in 1687. Rama Raja, the second son of Sivaji, fled to Gingee along with some of the prominent Maratha generals, after Sambhaji, his elder brother, was barbarously executed by the Mughals and the bulk of Maharashtra came into their occupation. The Maratha power was now removed for all practical purposes from the Deccan to the Carnatic (1689). After some negotiations, Yale got from Rama Raja the fort of Tegnapatam (Tevanampatnam) to the north of Cuddalore "as also all the grounds, woods and rivers round the said Fort within the randome Shott of a great Gunn" which "took in Cuddalore and its circumference, much beyond Tevanampatam and Mangee Copang." It is considered that Yale gave the name of the Welsh Saint, David, to the new fort.

Negotiations to get San Thome

The difficulties experienced from the growth of the Muslim power at San Thomé were also considerable. The Portuguese of that place were desirous of getting recognition of their independent government and vied with the English in making offer to with the Mussalman governor for its renting. After the fall of Golconda in 1687, Yale hoped to attain his object of securing San Thomé with its dependent villages, for an annual rent of 3,800 pagodas. But, at the last moment, the Portuguese gained their aim by giving Mughal governor a secret consideration. This attitude of the Portuguese of San Thomé made the English at Madras turn to the services of the French Padres for the Catholic churches in their place.

Naval action with the French

As war had broken out with France soon after the accession of William III to the throne of England in 1689, and as a powerful French fleet had reached Pondicherry in the course of 1690, the English at Madras were attacked by the French fleet in the Madras roads

on the 15th August. The English had the help of a few vessels offered by the Dutch at Pulicat. A contemporary account says that the French might have got an easy victory, if they had boldly grappled with the enemy, because the guns from Fort St. George could not have played upon the French ships without injuring their own vessels. The fight lasted four hours, the French ships keeping well out of reach of the guns of the Fort. The Dutch commander was asked to pursue the French when they retreated, but excused himself, saying he had only orders to defend himself from the enemy, but "none to chase them or go out of his way to seek them."

The organisation of Indian peons—the formation of an Indian militia (1689)

It was also in the time of Yale that the Indian troops of the English were improved in conduct and discipline. They were formed into three regular companies of about a hundred peons each. Two of the companies were provided with muskets and one with lances; and they were officered by the English residents of the place. Each of the companies was to have its duties carefully detailed. This reorganisation of the Indian peons employed for the guarding of the suburbs is held to furnish "a refutation of the oft-repeated contention that no organised native force existed prior to the time of Stringer Lawrence." On one occasion the Governor issued an order that the Portuguese and the Indians who were residents at Madras, were to arm themselves for service, each family containing two adult males to supply one fighter and larger families containing six or more adults to furnish two men. Yale also aimed at the development of the train-band militia composed of all English freemen. This band was to assist the regular garrison. It is strange for us to read that the Company encouraged in those days the marriage of soldiers with natives on economical grounds. After his retirement, Yale lived at Madras for several years, trying to evade the Company's claims against him and quarrelling vigorously with his successor over them.

Accession of Governor Higginson (1692-98)

Nathaniel Higginson who was the first Mayor of Madras, succeeded Yale in the Governorship and ruled for six years (1692-98). He was almost the first Governor who retired from office without a stain upon his name. His tenure proved an era of peace and progress for the city. The Corporation was now made definitely responsible for the conservancy of the streets and new regulations were framed for the better policing of the city. A new hospital was built in the place of the old one and came to be utilised not only by the men of the garrison and of the Company's ships, but also by the civilian population.

The management of the Hindu Temples

The Town Temple which was as old as the settlement itself, and the ancient Triplicane Temple were re-organised in their management. Hitherto they were controlled by the Company's Chief Merchants with revenues partly derived from endowments of lands and partly arising from a petty tax on imports and exports which was voluntarily paid by all the Indians. Now the management was taken out of the hands of the Chief Merchants and entrusted to overseers and church-wardens specially nominated by the Governor.

Acquisition of suburban villages

With regard to the extension of the settlement which was a most agreeable and continuous feature of its growth, it may be remembered that Governor Yale applied to the Mughal authorities for the free grant of the villages of Egmore, Purasawalkam and Tondiarpet and got a conditional grant from the Prime Minister of the Mughal Emperor early in 1693 for the occupation of these villages. There were some difficulties about the matter in the beginning. These three villages were the earliest acquisitions after Triplicane; and they came to be known in the

The four old towns

Records as "the four old towns." For long, these villages were leased out for an annual rent to the Company's Chief Merchants; and they were first directly taken over by the Government only in 1720. Even after this date, Sa'datullah Khan, the Nawab of the

Carnatic who was the nominal representative of Mughal authority in the south, demanded their restoration on the ground of the insufficiency of the original grant. But the matter was amicably settled through the good offices of Sunka Rama, the then Chief Merchant of the Company.*

Further acquisitions

About the same time when the English got these villages, they also petitioned for permission to occupy five other villages in the vicinity, including Tiruvottiyur and Kathiwakam. These, however, did not come into actual English occupation till 1708 when, in return for an annual rent of 1,500 pagodas, Tiruvottiyur, Nungambakam, Vyasarpady, Kathiwakam and Sattangadu were given over by the Mughal Nawab, Daud Khan, by a *farman*. These places were henceforward known as "the five new villages."† A permanent grant of these was included as one of the provisions in the *farman* issued by Emperor Farrukh Siyar to the English in 1717 on the representation of the embassy of John Surman. Nawab Sa'datullah Khan made a

* These three new villages had been applied for by Governor Yale in 1692. Early in 1693 a parwana for these three villages was issued by Nawab Asad Khan, father of Zulfikar Khan and Wazir of the Empire. Meanwhile, it was known that two of these villages were included in a *jaghir* granted to one, Velayuda Arasama Nayak, by Zulfikar Khan. Arasama Nayak now asked the English to give him possession of Egmore and Purasawakam and also of Triplicane which he claimed as well. On a representation by the English Governor, Zulfikar Khan gave a fresh grant which superseded his gift to Arasama Nayak. These villages were not very fertile at first and the tank in Egmore had to be repaired for irrigation purposes; while palmyra and cashew trees had to be planted along the bunds.

† The five new villages were first obtained by a parwana from Nawab Kasim Khan who was the Nawab-designate of the Carnatic, in 1693. But the Council did not then enter into possession on account of some reason; Kathiwakam was separately granted by the Nawab in 1695, but it was soon relinquished. These five villages came into the final possession of the English only in 1708. For the village of Vepery which was wedged in between Egmore, Purasawakam and Peddanaickenpettah, an application was made in 1695, because the Council felt that it would be a very convenient centre for collecting the sunkam dues. They sent their vakil to Nawab Zulfikar Khan in 1695 for getting a grant of the village; but this attempt was unsuccessful. The Nawab's customs officers continued to give a great amount of trouble from their place beyond the river, which is held to be identical with the Periamet of to-day.

demand for the restoration of these villages later, but withdrew his claim on the English putting up a bold front.

Further acquisition of "five new villages"

Wedged in between Egmore and Purasawalkam were two small villages, *viz.*, Periamet (the Great Mettah) where the Mussalman authorities collected tolls (*juncan or sunkam*) on goods passing into Madras and Vepery. An application was made by the English for the grant of Vepery in 1695. But it was only in 1742 that they received it from the young orphan Nawab, Muhammad Sayyad, a descendant of Nawab Sa'datullah. The young Prince was residing in Madras for safety when his father, Nawab Safdar Ali, was assassinated at Vellore and he showed his gratitude to his English hosts by granting the Company the five villages of Ernavore, Sadayankuppam (both near Tiruvottiyur), Vepery, Perambur and Pudupakkam, together with a confirmation of the right of coining Arcot rupees and pagodas.

Higginson and his Council

During Higginson's administration, Sir John Goldsborough landed in India with a commission appointing him "Supervisor and Commissary General in India." He remained at Madras for eight months inquiring into the disputes and complicated affairs of the settlement; and during this time, Higginson had to sit as Second Member. Later, after the departure and death of Goldsborough, Higginson was appointed Lieutenant-General of India; but though his rank was enhanced, his troubles with his Council did not cease. He had the greatest amount of difficulty with one of the Councillors, William Fraser, against whom he later on presented a long indictment and a recommendation for suspension (1697).

The new Fort House (1694-95)—The nucleus of the present Secretariat

It was now that the original Fort House in the Citadel was entirely pulled down and rebuilt. The new Fort House was built on a different plan being somewhat nearer the eastern wall of the Inner Fort and having its walls parallel to the curtains of the latter. Of course, the Directors found fault with Higginson for undertaking such a costly work. There

is satisfactory evidence that this Fort House of Higginson is the nucleus of the present Secretariat Building; and it is, therefore, among the existing structures of Madras, the second oldest building, being only 15 years "younger" than St. Mary's Church. It was only in 1825 that wings were added to either side of it and its present shape was given to it. Other buildings constructed by Higginson included a mint house, a new Choultry or town hall and an enlarged customs house.

Troubles with the Corporation

Of course, the Town Hall that should have been built by the Corporation, had its cost debited to its account. The Council regretted that the debt contracted for the building of the Town Hall, amounting to 4,000 pagodas, remained unfortunately unpaid. They asked the Corporation for an account of their income and expenditure and complained that a proper representation of the different communities was not maintained among the members. "The Armenians had always declined to serve, no Jews were available, and 'it's not thought safe to introduce Moormen into any part of the Government, and it's our opinion they are never to be trusted'. The Portuguese generally stood aloof, and there were no Dutchmen in the place."

Some features of the Town administration

The walls of the Black Town had also to be strengthened; owing to the unceasing troubles with the Mughal officers, the old bastions of it had to be dismantled, but the curtain walls had to be reinforced and rendered fit for the use of musketry along the line. The management of the Hindu temples in the city had also to be reorganised. The accounts of these temples, particularly of the Town and Triplicane shrines, were to be submitted for inspection annually and a committee of three was appointed to manage their revenues. Disputes occurred between the Mullas of Madras where there were two mosques at the time, one which was due east of the Town Temple, close to the Beach in the old Black Town, and the other in Muthialpetta, having been built recently. Arrangements were also made to settle the disputed succession to the office of Pedda Nayak, which

was finally decided to be hereditary in its descent; but the office of the Town Kanakkupillai was deemed to be voidable at the pleasure of the Company; and therefore, it was ordered in 1693 that the revenues were hereafter to be collected by the Company's men and deposited in the Choultry; and the ancient office of the 'Town Conicoply' was abolished.

Relations with San Thome

We saw that the English were outbidden by the Portuguese in their attempt to get possession of San Thomé from the Muhammadan rulers of the country in 1688. Though the Portuguese established themselves under their Captain Major in the European quarter, all real authority over the port and the neighbouring town of Mylapore was enjoyed by the Mussalman havildar of the place. There were numerous occasions of friction between the San Thomé people and the Madras Council; and one such occasion was when an interloping ship tried to establish trade relations with the merchants at San Thomé. The Portuguese did not get permission to fortify their quarter as they wished. On the other hand, the Mussalmans pulled down even the remaining fortifications which were demolished in their entirety in 1697. Part of *debris* and bricks and stones were used for building a house for the havildar. Even the flag-staff was pulled down; and for years the materials formed a quarry for neighbouring builders. It was during the rule of Governor Pitt (1698-1709) that San Thomé was proposed to be developed by Nawab Daud Khan, the successor of Nawab Zulfikar Khan, at the expense of Madras.

Higginson's rule—a period of general prosperity

Thus the rule of Higginson formed a period of mingled sunshine and cloud for the English at Madras; but, on the whole, there was substantial prosperity accruing to the settlement. "Notwithstanding a defference between the Government of Fort St. George and Nawab Zulfikar Khan, and some friction with the Portuguese who unsuccessfully attempted to re-establish their power at San Thomé, Higginson's administration proved an era of peace and progress. The city of Madras was developing

rapidly. The Factory-House in the inner Fort, the Mint and Choultry were all rebuilt. By the Corporation a Town Hall was erected; and that body became responsible for the city's conservancy. The fortifications of the White Town were put in order, and the Black Town rampart was repaired. Regulations were framed for policing the city, controlling the new hospital built by Yale, and managing the principal temples and mosques. Fresh territory was acquired in the shape of the important suburban villages of Egmore, Pursewaukum and Tandore." (*Vestiges of Old Madras*; Vol. I, pp. 554-55). The next Governor, Thomas Pitt, was destined to have a long rule of eleven years which witnessed a remarkable increase in the strength and prosperity of Madras.

IX

GOVERNOR PITT (1698-1709)

EVEN under Higginson Madras had embarked on a career of growing wealth and prosperity when English influence increased politically as well as commercially, and trade developed markedly. From Higginson to Governor Morse (1744-1746), there were thirteen Governors all of whom have been classed as belonging to the type of Merchant Governors who had two definite objects in view, one being the advancement of the Company's mercantile affairs and the other being the accumulation of a private fortune for themselves. Moreover, the Directors in London learnt to forget their jealousy and suspicion of their servants in India and displayed towards them greater goodwill and liberality. The first remarkable Governor in the half-century that intervened between the retirement of Higginson (1698) and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 was " Pirate Pitt " who was a red rag to the Company and whom the Directors once designated as " a desperate fellow, and one that, we fear, will not stick at doing any mischief that lies in his power."

A period of Merchant Governors (1692-1746)

Governor Thomas Pitt

Pitt began life in the East as an interloper and soon became the recognised head of the interlopers in the Bay. He was involved in litigation with the Company and even sat in Parliament for some time. In the beginning of his interloping career, he was arrested and brought before the Council at Fort St. George and admonished very severely. Later, he betook himself to Persia. Soon he got rid of the fear of India and even built a trading house for himself at Hugli, for which he was arrested, fined and deported. In 1689, he obtained election to Parliament for the "rotten" Borough of Old Sarum, in the first Parliament of "that Interloping King, the Dutch William." He then indulged in another interloping bout into Bengal and contrived to get

Early career of Pitt

himself re-elected for Old Sarum. The Company had by this time fallen into great discredit in England; their Charter had become practically a dead letter; the House of Commons had passed a resolution leaving it open to any interloper to indulge in eastern trade with impunity. It was now clear that an act of Parliament alone could give an effective charter either to the Old Company or to their opponents. It was in such a situation that the Directors resolved to take "a broad view of the position and to come to terms with Pitt, who found it convenient to meet them half-way." He was chosen to succeed Higginson, though Child who had by this time lost power, was strongly opposed to his choice and described him as "a roughing immoral man."

Pitt's rule at Madras

Pitt reached Madras in July 1698 and held the post of Governor for the unusually long period of eleven years, "a period which proved to be the Golden Age of Madras in respect of the development of trade and increasing of wealth."

For the period of Pitt's Governorship there are abundant original sources of information, besides the official records; among them, a map of the city which was prepared by the Governor's orders reveals to us the topography of the place in the beginning of the 18th century; and Pitt's own letters written in the manner of the times, are of some value.*

Acquisition of the famous Pitt Diamond

The most important events that happened under Pitt were the permanent fortification of Black Town, the acquisition of additional suburban villages by the English, a serious and violent dispute between the Right and Left Hand castes of the city and a series of threats including an actual blockade, that were offered

* "At no time was local literary talent more conspicuous. That observant and prolific author, Thomas Salmon, was a resident; Manucci was inditing the story of his experiences; the amusing, if sometimes inaccurate, Alexander Hamilton was making occasional visits to the place; and Charles Lockyer interspersed observations on local institutions among his remarks on the trade of Madras. All these sources of information are utilized in the account to be her set forth." (Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras;* Vol. II, page 2).

to Madras by Nawab Daud Khan. The chief external feature was Pitt's successful defiance of the presumptions and claims made by the representatives of the rival New Company in India. But the most interesting episode in his Indian career was his purchase of a fine and large diamond, weighing 400 carats, from an Indian merchant. The diamond was the making of the fortune of Pitt's family; but it cost the poor Governor a great deal of mental peace and domestic happiness; on account of it his private correspondence was marked by an abundance of instructions regarding its safe-keeping and disposal.*

In 1699 Nawab Daud Khan, who was then the deputy of Nawab Zulfikar Khan, visited Madras and spent a week at San Thomé. Daud Khan succeeded his master as the Nawab of the Carnatic and Gingee countries in 1700; soon after he came down to Arcot, he sent to the English at Madras for "sundry sorts of liquors." On that occasion presents were sent to him through Sehnor Nicolo Manucci,† a Venetian who was then resident at Madras and was a very interesting personality of those days.

* The diamond became Pitt's "grand concern." He said he paid £24,000 for it. Salmon explicitly says that no manner of compulsion was used to obtain it, though scandalous stories were afloat as to how Pitt came by it. It weighed 410 carats in the rough, and was reduced by cutting to 136 carats. After a great deal of trouble in disposing of it, Pitt contrived to sell it to the Regent of France for £135,000.

Pope was supposed to have had Pitt in mind when he wrote in his *Moral Essays*:—

"Asleep and naked as an Indian lay
An honest factor stole a gem away;
He pledged it to a Knight; the Knight had wit
So robbed the robber and was rich as P——"
Or, *more familiarly*, the last line runs thus:—
"So kept the diamond and the rogue was bit."

Pitt's eldest son, Robert, who accompanied him to Madras, was the father of "The Great Commoner". His son-in-law was the Earl of Stanhope. On one occasion, he and three of his sons sat simultaneously in the House of Commons.

† He spent more than half a century in India and lived at Madras for some years. Practising as a physician and being of a great use to Government on account of his knowledge of Persian and other languages, he wrote a very racy account of the Mughal Empire and well deserved the title—"The Pepys of Mughal India"—that has been

Nawab Daud Khan regarded the presents sent to him as inadequate and sent Manucci back with a threat that he would appoint a separate governor for Black Town and would develop San Thomé at the expense of Madras. Manucci says in his account that the Nawab received him very favourably and gave him reasonable and satisfactory answers, and the Governor himself was satisfied with his embassy, though the official resolution of the Council was otherwise.

Manucci as envoy to the Nawab

A few months later, in July 1701, Daud Khan arrived at San Thomé with 10,000 troops, horse and foot. It seemed as if hostilities would break out and Pitt prepared for a stout resistance. But the Nawab changed his mind, said that he was prepared to receive the presents that he had previously refused and even offered to dine with the Governor. The dinner was accompanied with the presents and the gift of a great quantity of wines and cordials. The next day the Nawab could not go, as he wished, in a boat to visit one of the English ships in the roads on account of having become very drunk overnight. This was followed by another threatening visit of the Nawab to San Thomé and Pitt had to prepare for yet another threatened outbreak of hostilities. Soon the Nawab

Further visits of the Nawab—Blockade of Madras (1702)

bestowed upon him by learned opinion. Manucci died in Madras in 1717. The house where he resided, was situated near the south end of the present Popham's Broadway, at its junction with the China Bazar Road and was for long known as Manucci's House. His famous history, known as "*Storia Do Mogor*, 1653-1708," is a mine of interesting information and has been translated into English by W. Irvine in the Indian Texts Series (1908) for the Government of India. The Madras Council has well described him thus: "An inhabitant of ours for many years who has the reputation of an honest man; besides, he has liv'd at the Kings Court upward of thirty years, and was a Servant to one of the Princes, and speaks the Persian Language excellent well." Manucci has given a considerable amount of valuable information about events in Madras and San Thomé, particularly on matters relating to the Catholic Church and Missions on the coast in the latter two volumes of his famous book, which has been the quarry of several subsequent historians of India, including Francois Catrou, who made a very clever use of the book, as early as 1705, in the composition of his own "Histoiré Générale de l' Empire du Mogol."

began a strict blockade of the city and stopped all goods going in or out. The inhabitants of Egmore, Purasawakam and Triplicane fled through fear; and application was made by the Council to the Dutch and the Danes for assistance. The blockade extended to the other English settlements on the coast, but was raised after some weeks, when the English agreed to pay 25,000 rupees and the Nawab returned all the plundered goods.

On yet another occasion the Nawab visited San Thomé; and though no hostilities were apprehended, Pitt took care to make preparations for a defence. This visit terminated with a large dinner which was sent to the Nawab, the Governor not caring to admit into the Fort the large number of men who escorted him. This was in 1706. Two years later, the Nawab came at the head of 2,500 troops and went away grumbling at the insufficiency of the presents given to him. His final letter to Pitt had reference to a demand for strong waters, as was expected. Daud Khan wrote a letter to the Governor from Golconda for the supply of 1,000 bottles of liquor; and the Council resolved to send him 250, and also two large mastiffs that had been got from Europe.

Acquisition of the five new villages (1708)

One consequence of the Nawab's blockade of Madras in 1702 was an attempt made by the Mussalmans to resume possession of the three villages got recently. This claim was promptly resisted and the villages were farmed out to the Company's merchants. Governor Pitt very cautiously put forward a request for the acquisition of Mylapore and also of Tiruvottiyur, using the specious plea that "Miliapore is a troublesome neighbourhood to us, creating always disputes and quarrels, little advantage to the King, nor will it ever be more; which would we obtain, and the Town of Trivetore on the other side of us, it would make us easy, and increase the Riches of the Kings Country." (P.C., Vol. XXXIX, 31st July, 1708). The acquisition of Mylapore was not to be seriously thought of; but a grant was received in September 1708, through Daud Khan, then camping at San

Thomé, for the five villages, namely, Tiruvottiyur, Nungambakam, Vyasarpady, Kathiwakam near Ennore and Sattangadu, west of Tiruvottiyur. There were the usual protracted negotiations about the fixing of the rents of these places which were henceforward known as "the five new villages." A *farman* granted these villages as a free gift with effect from the 5th of October 1708.

Further request of Pitt

Pitt was encouraged by Ziyau'd-din Khan, the steward of the Mughal Emperor's household, in 1709, to ask for something even more substantial than Mylapore or Tiruvottiyur, for instance, a place of real value like Pulicat or Pondicherry. The English Governor took advantage of this friendly attitude of the Khan and requested that a *farman* might be issued for the Divi Island near Masulipatam and also for the grant of new privileges to the English in Bengal, as well as for the remission of the rent of 1,200 pagodas for Madras *per annum*. Pitt who had intended to go home early in 1709 was persuaded to stay on till the negotiations were completed for the expected *farman*.

Fortification of Old Black Town

One good result of the Nawab's truculent attitude was the permanent fortification of old Black Town with a strong rampart equipped with guns and flanking works. The Indian inhabitants were called upon to provide funds for the work, and we are told in the records how their contributions were thin and halting and how several futile meetings of the heads of the different castes were held at the Town Pagoda to discuss ways and means of raising money.

An interesting item culled from these records tells us that the Governor proposed to assess the various castes at over 8,000 pagodas in 1706 and of this amount the Portuguese were to bear 3,000 pagodas and the Beri Chettis 2,000. The Armenians, the Gujaratis, the goldsmiths, the Komatis, the Karnams and the Balijas were the most heavily assessed among the other communities. The inhabitants ultimately adopted an attitude of

passive resistance, but were finally compelled by force to subscribe.

It was in Pitt's time that the Island ground was embanked, drained and improved. He planted therein a noble avenue of double trees that provided a good vista from the Company's Garden-House situated in the grounds of the Medical College and General Hospital. This garden-house was re-erected about 1680. To it the Governor retired in the evening or for week-ends; and in it public entertainments and receptions of Indian potentates were held. The garden-house was pulled down by the French during their occupation of Madras 1746-49; and it was then replaced by the purchase of the nucleus of the present Government House situated on the southern bank of the Cooum in 1753.*

Improvement of the Island

Pitt also provided for an accurate survey of the City with a view to the allocation of definite streets and quarters for the Right and Left Hand factions. The map and plan, copies of which are now available, are fairly trustworthy; and they show us the shape of the White Town, *i.e.*, the streets enclosing the Factory House and themselves surrounded by a wall, as well as the old Black Town immediately to the north of the White Town and the suburbs of Muthialpettah and Comerpetta (later known as Peddanaickenpetta) † adjoining the latter on the north and west respectively.

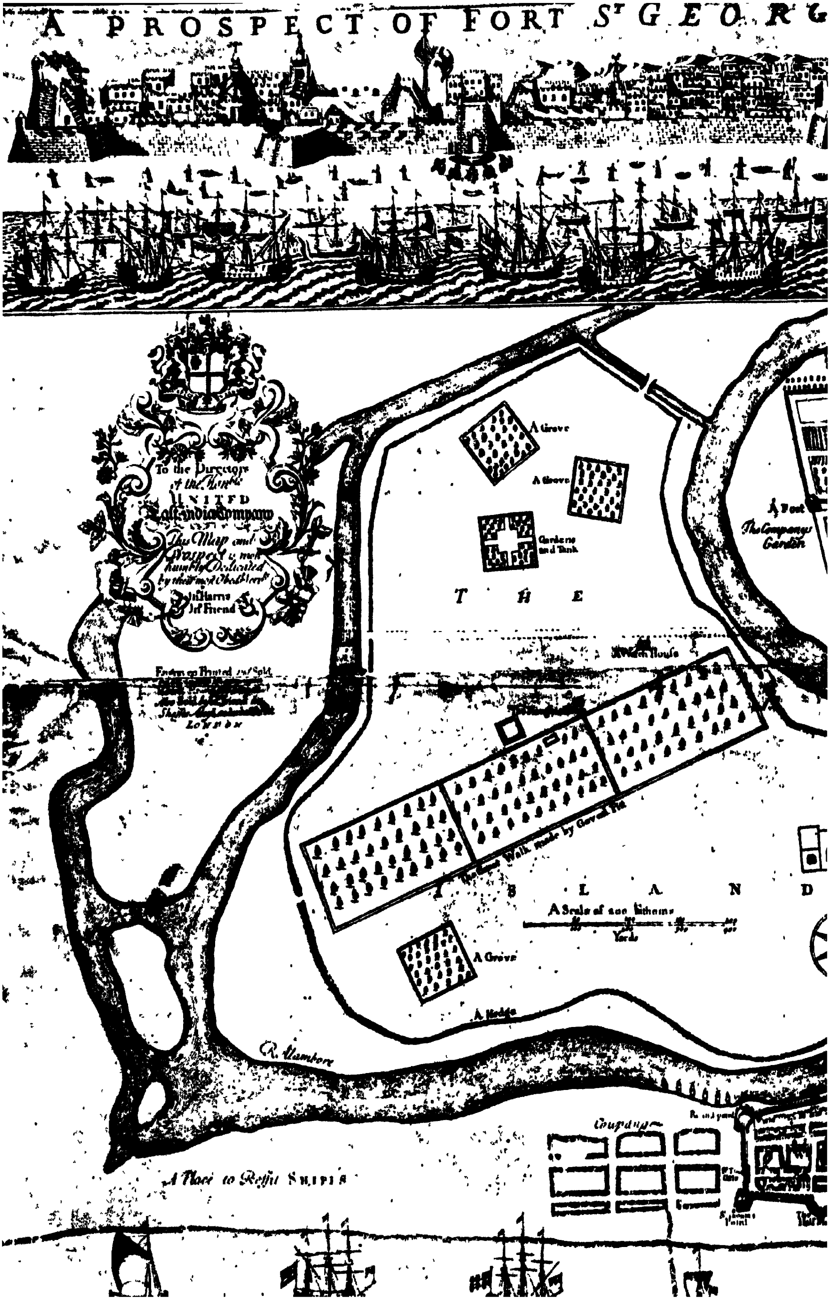
Survey and Map of the City

* There was another Garden-House of the Company near St. Thomas' Mount which became the nucleus of the present Guindy residence of the Governor. Guindy Park is said to have been presented to the Company in 1695 by Chinna Venkatadri, brother of Beri Timmanna and the Company's Chief Merchant. But the available information is not quite clear on this point.

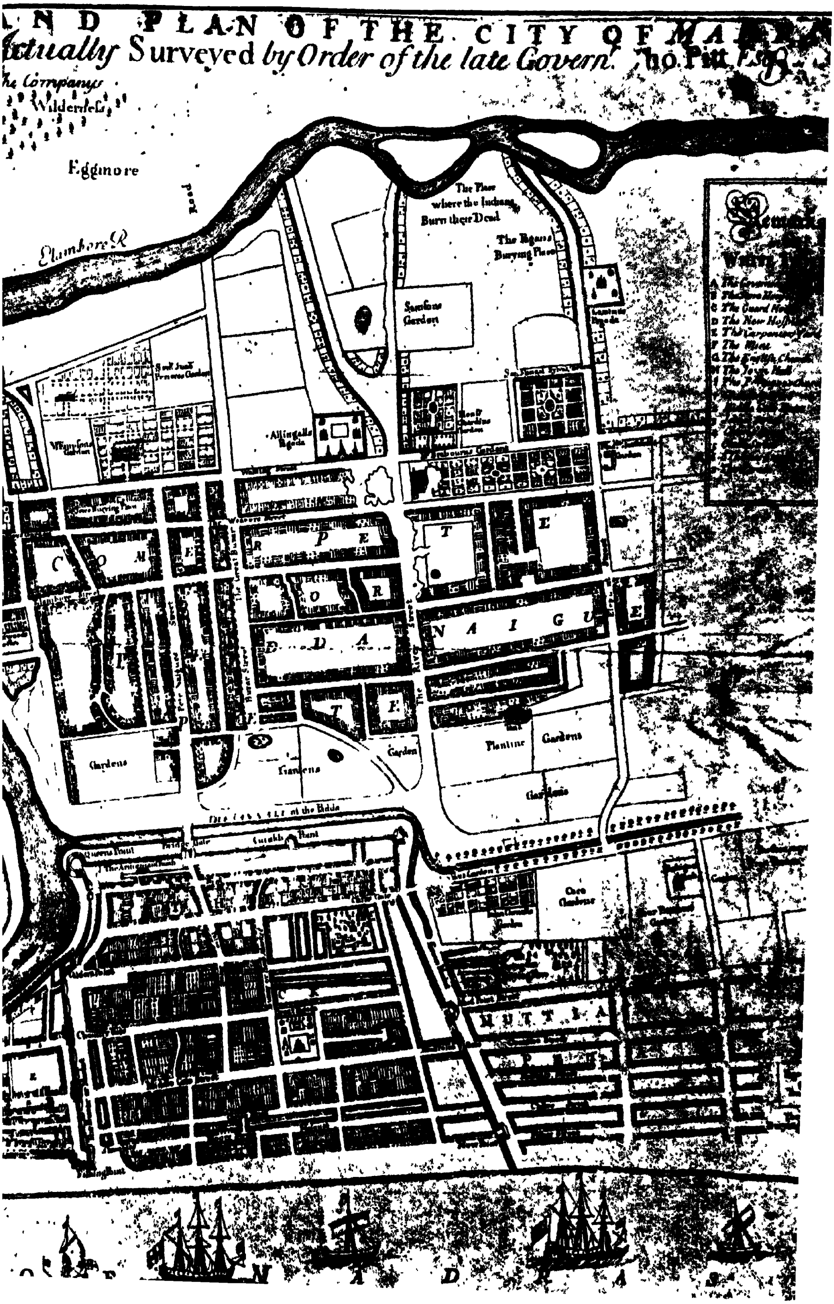
† In the plan of the White Town we can discern the Factory House, St. Mary's Church and the Portuguese Church; in the Black Town can be seen the Great Pagoda in the middle and the burial-place of the English in the north-western corner, *i.e.*; in the Law College compound, as well as the Big Bazaar.

General lay-out of the White and Black Towns

The various gates in the walls of the Black Town to the north and west are seen to lead into the suburbs of Muthialpetta and Peddanaickenpetta. A canal ran then roughly along the alignment



A PROSPECT OF FORT St GEORG
A Grove
A Grove
Gardens and Tank
THE ISLAND
A Grove
A Hedge
Yards
The Companys Garden
A Watch House
LONDON


PLAN OF THE CITY OF
Surveyed by Order of the late Govern.
Eggmore
The Place where the Indians Burn their Dead
The Pagans Burying Place
Gardens
Garden
Plantine

The great dispute of 1707

A curious, but very distressing, feature of Madras under Pitt was the great quarrel of 1707 between the Right and Left Hand Castes. When the Governor set about a more active pursuit of the fortifications of Black Town, which were planned as early as 1699 and for which the several castes were assessed, the heads of the castes met as usual at the Pagoda (Town Temple) for the purpose of distributing the burden amongst themselves. On the 26th June 1707, the Council recorded a dispute between the two divisions, arising about the passing of processions through some streets on occasions of their weddings; the Governor was obliged to order out the guards to keep the peace. He resolved to survey the Pettas and to indicate the respective streets where the two factions mainly lived.

The real origin of this dispute in Madras

Up to this time the practice seems to have been to procure the Company's goods through the agency of Indian brokers who contracted to supply them according to sample and received *dadni* (advance, from *Pers. Dadon*—give) for payment of the wages of the weavers and others employed in the manufacture. The brokers and merchants who contracted were for the most part members of the

of the present Broadway and flowed into the North River near the present Medical College field; and it separated Black Town from Peddanaickenpetta on the west and as well as the latter from Muthialpetta. In Muthialpetta we can locate the burial-places of the Armenians and the Portuguese which occupied the ground of the present Armenian Church and Roman Catholic Cathedral as well as separate streets for fishermen, Komatis, Chettis, Moors and others. In Peddanaickenpetta we find several big streets like Weavers' Street, (the present Nyniappa Naicken Street), Washers' Street, (the present Mint Street), River Street, (the present China Bazar Road), the Ekambareswarar Temple and the Jewish Cemetery still surviving in crowded Mint Street.

The Island was then much larger than it is now since the North River ran much more to the east; and starting from the west gate of the Outer Fort across the Island the traveller was led on to the Triplicane-San Thomé High Road.

Old Black Town was more than a mile and a half in circumference; and its wall was 17 feet thick; and there were canals running along its northern and western sides. The prospect of the whole city from the sea was most delightful; and "the great variety of fine buildings that greatly overlook its faults afforded an inexpressible satisfaction to the weary eye of the traveller."

Right Hand castes, like the Chief Merchant, Casa Verona. These were suspected of having paid large subsidies to some of the earlier Governors for monopolising this privilege. Recently the practice was begun of encouraging all classes of merchants to bring their own goods for sale and to enable the Company to take advantage of their competition. This change of policy, whether suggested by Pitt or not, was "the immediate cause of the outbreak of the smouldering antagonism between the two divisions."

Progress of the dispute

The Council resolved unanimously that those house-holders of the Right Hand division who lived in the streets of the Left side should sell their houses and remove to the streets of their own side; and they also prohibited the Right Hand from disturbing the quiet enjoyment of their streets by the Left. The Right Hand heads took umbrage at this, broke the Government's order and conducted a wedding procession through one of the prohibited streets (1707). They claimed that two of the prohibited streets had been in their enjoyment for a long time and many of them went away in a huff to San Thomé. Kalavai Chetti and Venkata Chetti who were the heads of the Left Hand asserted that the quarrels were "more upon account of their making the investment for the Company than that of the streets and till these disputes were over nothing could be done."

Its settlement

Mr. Fraser, a member of Council who had always been opposed to Pitt, posed as the champion of the Right Hand; and the Governor suspended him, lest he might do further mischief. The principal heads of the two factions were confined in a room in the Fort and forced to come to an agreement which was quickly arrived at. It declared that the Right Hand castes should live in Peddanaickenpetta and the Left Hand ones in Muthialpetta. Time was given for the transfer of the castes who might be living in the prohibited pettas to their own; in neither petta no one should sell his house to any one who was not of his own side. Boatmen, lascars and fishermen that had their houses by the sea-side in Muthialpetta

should remain where they now were, though they were of the Right Hand, without giving any molestation to the Left Hand people.* This was a concession to the Right Hand who were to undertake to make all of their side who had withdrawn from the settlement to San Thomé to return without delay.

The final end of the quarrel

The Governor gave a free pardon to the Right Hand men who had deserted, at the request of Persian and Armenian mediators. But the deserters who had returned half way to their homes, refused to proceed further and hastened back to San Thomé, whereupon the Governor got furious and even proposed to make an armed attack upon their place of refuge. Negotiations for their return continued through the rest of the year. The boatmen repented of their action in deserting and said that, being Christians, they belonged to neither side and would not desert their employers. The weavers and oil-men were very fickle in their allegiance; and finally the former declared that they were for the Left Hand and the latter for the Right Hand. Upwards of 500 houses between the two factions had to be exchanged; and the final agreement provided that certain streets in Peddanaickenpetta should be reserved for the Left Hand people; it is difficult to exactly locate the area reserved therein for the Left Hand, but readers acquainted with the topography of the Madras City may make something of the extract quoted below.†

* There is a confusion in Dalton's account (See *The Life of Thomas Pitt,* (1915) Chapter XIX) of the compromise effected. He confuses a petta with a street. The two pettas, Peddanaickenpetta and Muthialpetta, were respectively the homes of the Right and Left Hands. For the growth of Old Black Town and the Pettas see the author's "Stages in the Growth of Madras City" in the Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Vol. II, No. 3.

† "The area is believed to embrace that part of the petta which lies south of the existing (Town) Chennai Kesava Perumal Temple and east of Mint Street. The routes to be followed by the wedding and burial processions are defined. The streets to the east of Nautwaree Pillar Pagoda were to appertain entirely and solely to the Right Hand Caste and all the westward to the Left Hand; and Ekambareswarar Pagoda and Venkatanarayanappa's stone choultry were to be freely used by both parties."

Pitt's rule was also marked by the settlement of disputes between the French Padres and a Patriarch who was sent from Rome to Pondicherry and who took up the side of the Jesuits, who were confirmed opponents of the Capuchins. Government was always warm in their championship of the Capuchin Fathers of Madras, of whom Father Ephraim, already noticed, was the first and served in the settlement for 52 years. There was also a protracted dispute as to the particular holder of the office of Pedda Nayak, between two members of the family which claimed a hereditary right to it. In the *cowle* which was given to Angarappa Nayak as against his rival claimant, it was specifically provided that he derived his right immediately from the Company and his occupation of his office was revocable at the pleasure of the President and the Council. This was in 1699. But two years later, when Angarappa died, we find the Council renewing the *cowle* in favour of his infant son, though the duties had to be discharged by a deputy. We have already seen how the office of Town Kanakkupillai was abolished. We now come to hear of Papaiya Brahman—several of that name flourished in the 18th century—who was the Linguist or Translator of documents from and into Persian, Telugu and other languages of the country. Papaiya became the Chief Dubash of Madras in 1709. We also hear of the Brokers of the Company, who were now allowed to collect the brokerage fees individually instead of on a joint responsibility as they did hitherto.

Miscellaneous matters

Arrack shops and sales of wine had all to be licensed. When the licensees complained that they had no profit, the Council smugly remarked that there was no other reason for this than that the people did not frequent public houses as formerly, having grown soberer. Gaming houses increased in number and alarmed the Government; while cock-fighting had to be put down by severe restrictions.

Drink and amusements

Madras under Pitt

Madras under Pitt was considered by Lockyer as surpassing the other English settlements in India in grandeur, as well as in prosperity and general cleanliness. The people enjoyed good health. The Governor maintained great state and went abroad attended with music by a large body of peons. He maintained a generous table.

The merit of Pitt's rule

Pitt's last great service to Madras was his vigorous championship of the rights and pre-eminence of the Old Company against the presumptions and claims of the representatives of the New Company who troubled him very much; and he proved a very loyal servant of the United Company when the two concerns were incorporated into the United East India Company of 1708. "He maintained the cause of his masters, the Old Company, unflinchingly and triumphantly, when every wind seemed to be against them; he was indefatigable and successful in recovering their debts and in winding up their affairs. The New Company, once his enemies, gladly put the winding up of their affairs into his hands; whilst the United Company, largely composed of those whom he had defied, maintained him as their President." (Dalton's '*Life of Thomas Pitt,*' page 567). Thus did Pitt vigorously rule, making himself an object of respect and fear alike to the English and the Indians and always putting on a bold front before the country powers.

X

THE SUCCESSORS OF PITT—(1711-25)

PITT was followed in the Governorship of Madras by Gulstone Addison the brother of Joseph Addison the famous Essayist. Governor Addison had been living in Madras for some years and was a respected member of the settlement. Another brother of the Essayist was also in Madras at the time. Addison secured the Governorship largely through the political influence of his brother at London; but he did not live long to enjoy his high office and died a few weeks after he took charge. His wife had predeceased him; and as he had no children, his property reverted to his brother, the Essayist. Wheeler says that "it came at an opportune moment and enabled Joseph to marry the Countess of Warwick with whom he had fallen in love."

Gulstone Addison—Governor (1709)

On Addison's death William Fraser, the Senior Councillor, who had quarrelled so violently with Pitt, particularly in the matter of the caste fights, became the Governor until the Company sent out a new man from England. Fraser was in charge of the Presidency for 18 months. His rule was not at all noteworthy; and he was removed suddenly from power, being superseded by Edward Harrison. Harrison ruled for six years. During his time the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David raised a revolt; and there were the usual difficulties with the Mussalman rulers of the country. But in Madras itself everything went on smoothly. Harrison demolished the old Fort (Inner Fort) built by Cogan and Day and constituted the area into what was known for long as the Fort Square. He also built new structures for the accommodation of the Hospital and the Mint and renewed and enlarged the barracks in the Fort.

The rule of Fraser (1709-11) Accession of Governor Harrison (1711)

After his retirement in possession of a considerable fortune, Harrison became the Chairman of the East India Company and even got elected to Parliament. His daughter married the

Viscount Townshend, a prominent nobleman of the times. Harrison himself subsequently rose to the position of Post Master General in Britain.

Fresh disputes regarding the five new villages

Soon after Pitt retired from Madras, Daud Khan demanded the return of the five villages granted to the English in 1708. He was mollified for the time with a tactful present "of 400 bottles of liquors" which had the magic effect of not only confirming the previous grant made, but also giving in addition 40 acres of ground at the Mount for the raising of a house and garden for the use of the Governor. But this confirmation was rejected by the Diwan of the Arcot Subah, Sa'adatullah Khan (who later on became the Nawab); he now not only claimed the restoration of the five villages on the ground of the legal insufficiency of the grant, but also pressed for the restoration of the "three old villages". Fraser who was Governor at the time when this demand was made, attributed the whole mischief to Evalappa, the renter of Poonamallee, whom he called "that plague of the poor and Cockatrice of all venom." Fraser appealed to Nawab Zulfikar Khan at Delhi; but in spite of all efforts, the Mussalmans actually resumed possession of these five villages in 1711. The succeeding years were marked by a great disturbance in the condition of the Mughal Empire. Sa'adatullah, who was now the deputy for Daud Khan in the Carnatic, made a peremptory demand for the restoration of even the three old villages, *viz.*, Egmore, Purasawakam and Tondiarpet. Governor Harrison, who had now come to power, prepared to resist this demand even by force of arms. Ultimately, the matter was arranged amicably through the good offices of Sunka Rama, the Company's Chief Merchant who conducted prolonged negotiations.

Surman's embassy to Delhi (1715-7)

When the important embassy of Surman was despatched from Calcutta to the court of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, Madras benefited along with Bengal and Bombay. Surman took with him costly gifts and said in boast, that "there had been no

such present since the reign of Tamerlane" although the seven elephants intended to form part of the presents, had been sold off in Madras and a large gold bowl and two gold cups were sent to the Madras Mint to be coined into pagodas, since Fort St. George was then short of cash. It was only in February 1717 that Surman was enabled to obtain separate *farmans* confirming the English privileges, respectively, in the three Presidencies. The Madras *farman* gave the Company exemption from customs in all the ports of the subah of Golconda; and the five villages which were resumed in 1711-12 were ordered to be given back and their grant confirmed with all their existing privileges. This Imperial *farman* was recieved with a great amount of pomp by the Governor to the accompaniment of music and guns and taken in a palanquin in procession round the Black Town, the procession consisting of "the Peddanaigue on horseback, with all his Talliars and native music, a company of British soldiers, two trumpeters, the Chief Dubash mounted, and the palanquin containing the *farman* guarded by six sergeants"; while the rear was brought up by the Company's Merchants. There was the usual dinner for the English, Portuguese, Armenians and Mussalman merchants who were entertained in the Fort House; and 101 guns were fired in honour of the Mughal Emperor and of King George I and smaller salutes for the English Royal family and the Company. "The Day concluded with feasting of the Soldiers with Tubs of Punch and a Bonfire at Night; and the Black Merchants, to show their Joy at the Honourable Company's recieving so much favour from the Mughal, made abundance of fire-works upon the Island."

The Moghul Emperor's grant for these villages (1717)

A second great achievement of Harrison was an extensive reconstruction of buildings in the Fort. The bastions and curtains of the Inner Citadel were demolished; and as already noted, the place round the Fort House, which had been rebuilt, was walled round and came to be known as the Fort Square. The new Square

The new Fort Square

enclosed a larger area than the old Citadel and was raised five feet above the ground. It survived till 1825 when it was demolished. The Hospital was enlarged so as to accommodate from 100 to 150 patients, being intended for the use of all sick patients, soldiers, seamen and the poor inhabitants. The first *pucca* bridge leading from the Fort across the North River to the Island was built in 1715. It appears that the earlier bridges spanning the Cooum and the North River were all of them not *pucca* and constructed of wood. The extension of the barracks, the rebuilding of the mint house and the construction of a big redoubt at Egmore, which was to serve the purpose of checking the inroads of Mughal horsemen into the environs of the city—these were prominent landmarks of the building activity of Harrison's time.

Building activity in the Fort area

The trade of Madras—its revenue

Troubles soon arose with the rulers of Gingee and Vizagapatam; and a little later occurred the singular revolt of Robert Raworth, the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. Discipline was very lax among the soldiers and peons and there were frequent outbreaks of disorder in the Black Town and the adjoining pettas caused by the riotous behaviour of the soldiers. Trade, however, was in a very thriving condition and the Madras road-stead contained at one time as many as 50 ships. Among the European residents of the settlement at the time there were about 30 free merchants, and about an equal number of ship-captains and supercargoes, besides others engaged in shipping. Once the cry was raised that a French spy ship had actually come to the coast. Madras provided a great quantity of cotton goods for export to Europe, including varieties like longcloth, *sallampores* (a kind of chintz), *betteles* (a kind of muslin used for veils), *betteles oringall* (probably of the variety known after the name of the city of Warangal), *chintz* and *murrees* (blue cloth).* Wine was an important article of import; and a considerable portion

* Among the varieties of imported English cloth were *auroras*, scarlets, and popinjays.

of it came from Madeira. The revenues of the city amounted to 70,000 pagodas per annum, including anchorage and tonnage fees, customs, brokerage, fees for the registration of slaves, ground rents and licenses for the sale of tobacco, arrack, wine and betel. The licenses were always given to the highest bidders. In 1714, the Council reported to the Directors that the farm for one year and revenues for sixteen months amounted to pagodas 90,812; and this should serve to convince—they added—"how little foundation there was for the reports that were industriously spread as if the trade of this place were in a very declining condition for want of due encouragement from us." A regular postal service overland to Bengal at a comparatively cheap rate was arranged by Governor Harrison by means of running messengers (*cossids* or *pattamars*), the covenanted servants being exempted from payment.

Renewed outbreak of caste quarrels

We may now devote some attention to the big Indian merchants who flourished in Madras in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. We have already seen how these merchants were divided into two jealously opposing camps, between whom it was very difficult to arrange a good understanding. The caste disputes of 1707-8 were revived in 1716. It was now the turn of the Left Hand Chettis now to complain against the Right Hand men; and now Kalavai Chetty and Kalastri Chetty, two of the leading merchants of the Left Hand, deserted to San Thomé after a quarrel over the right of repeating the twelve adorations of Vinayaka before particular temples. It was decided by the Council that no new temple should be erected without permission, nor any flags used at feasts except St. George's Cross and also neither the Right Hand nor the Left should repeat the prayers before the Great Town Temple which was therefore not to be made an object of partisan strife.

Apart from the two merchants above mentioned, there was the powerful and influential Sunka Rama who became the Company's Chief Merchant after the disgrace of Serappa (1711). Sunka Rama was even allowed to purchase a house

within the Fort and use it as a godown for stocking cloth. In 1717 the most prominent among the Indian merchants of Madras were declared to be the following; Sunka Rama, Bala Chetty, Kalavai Chetty and Kalastri Chetty. The latter two were thrown out of favour after the caste dispute of 1717 and their places were taken by Ganga Ram and Badriah. All these six merchants gave their names to the block-houses (or batteries) which were built about this time towards the west of Peddanaickenpetta and on the north side adjoining this petta and Muthialpetta. These block-houses were protective outworks and were equipped with guns and considered sufficient to ward off enemy attacks; they were at the same time to serve as choultries which might be used by merchants and others. Badriah's Battery (or out-house) was situated on the west side of Peddanaickenpetta near the North River. The other five were all on the north side extending down to the beach. A map of Madras drawn in 1733 shows us six such outworks as defending the two pettas. These merchants after whom they were named, might have erected the outworks at their own cost or largely helped in their constructions.*

The principal Indian merchants of Madras

Block-houses named after them

Another principal merchant of the times was Tomby Chetty, perhaps the person after whose name the well known Thambu Chetty Street of George Town is named. We also hear of Rayasam Papaiya, who was the Chief Dubash and Translator or Linguist of the Company and of the broker Ankanna, who claimed to have been in the service of the English for over sixty years. Papaiya was given the honour of having an umbrella borne over him whenever he went out. He was in disgrace for a time for taking part in the caste disputes of 1717 and for creating a corner in

Other personages

* A Bound Hedge, of aloes and other thorny plants, connected these choultries with one another and formed a boundary fence, as it were. The word, 'Bound Hedge' is still preserved in the survival of 'Bondage Lane' near the Town Beach. Similar bound hedges formed part of the defences of Pondicherry.

salt, but was soon restored to favour and to all the honours that he had enjoyed, (in 1720).

Governor Collet (1717-20) and his difficulties

Harrison was succeeded by Mr. Joseph Collet who had considerable experience of eastern trade. He was Governor for three years from the beginning of 1717 to January, 1720. At Madras he was very busy with political and commercial affairs. We saw how in 1717 the Company obtained *farmans* from the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, which, among other privileges, gave the English at Madras the "five new villages." But there was considerable difficulty in securing the due performance of the promises. The local Mughal officials contrived to hold off the cession of the villages on one ground or another; and though they were at first occupied by the English, the Nawab of the Carnatic, Sa'datullah Khan, sent his troops to expel them. Collet had to take strong action and to drive away the Muslim troops after inflicting a defeat on them at Tiruvottiyur. The fighting lasted for six hours; but the casualties on the English side were very few. Some years later, after Collet had retired, the Nawab agreed to leave the villages in the quiet possession of the English.

Tiruvottiyur seized by force

Forcible occupation of the five villages (1717)

Collet had to augment the garrison of the Fort because of the continued troubles with the Nawab. The outworks of the pettas to which reference has been already made, were also a consequence of these disturbances. The outworks, of course, were first proposed to be built from the proceeds of taxes to be imposed on all owners of lands and houses in the city.

The starting of regular schools in Madras by the Company

It was now that a regular beginning was made in the matter of establishing schools for the children of the inhabitants. It would be of some value for us to trace the progress of the educational activity manifested in Madras since its foundation, The Capuchin Fathers conducted their own schools; but nearly 60 years elapsed before the English inhabitants of the settlement erected the first Church. Governor Streynsham Master laid the

first stone of St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George for the use of the English factors and other Protestants in 1680. English chaplains at the Fort, among them Messrs. Lewis and Stevenson, became acquainted with and patronised the Tranquebar missionaries, and succeeded in starting two charity schools for the boys and girls of the settlement which together contained 30 children (1716), under the name of St. Mary's Charity School. As early as 1695 the Company was urged to erect schools at Madras, Bombay and Fort St. David for the education of the native inhabitants. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge which was started in 1698, having originated free schools for the poor in England, was greatly interested in the starting of such schools in India. A site for the school was chosen on a spot outside the Fort in the present Island Ground and it took two years to build it. The School was not fortunate in its first master, John Mitchel, who was prosecuted for some criminal offence and ordered to be deported to England. The trustees of the school struggled on with diminished grants from Government and increased expenses. It was only in 1746 that the school was brought under the special protection of the Company and commended to the care of the Governor in Council. Though Portuguese was the common language understood among all Europeans of the settlement, yet, in a short time, English came to take its place. Of course the missionaries had the Bible translated into Tamil and Telugu and brought out several small text-books for their schools in these tongues. English was not taught indiscriminately to all children; but even then it was recognised as the most convenient means for giving access to the stores of European knowledge. In this connection it may be mentioned that the first regular English mission was started in Madras under the auspices of the S.P.C.K. which adopted as its own, the Danish Missionary, Schultze; and for a long time the Society was helped from the Danish Mission of Tranquebar and occasionally from Germany.

The first English Mission in Madras

It was in Collet's time that a body of weavers and painters were encouraged to migrate to Tiruvottiyur which afforded abundant supplies of fresh water so necessary for washing and a number of shady trees under which the work of weaving could be carried on. These settlers built a village to the south of Tiruvottiyur and named it after their patron as Collet Petta, now corrupted into *Kālādi Petta,* (which means the loafers' quarter), being an example of the curious twisting of the meaning by a slight alteration in the pronounciation of a word. The village contained a complement of 104 houses and 10 shops; and the householders were arranged under the Right and Left Hand divisions and a shrine was erected therein for God Kalyana Varadaraja. Collet issued a *cowle* exempting the people of the village from quit-rent for three years and conferring on them some small privileges. The name, Collet Petta was given to the village at the request of its inhabitants.

Foundation of Collet Petta (1719)

Collet had some reputation for successful trade. His conduct was above reproach and he was deemed to be a typical representative of the men of the period.* Collet appreciated the work done by the Danish Missionaries and had keen ideas about the methods of educating the youth. His award in the caste dispute of his time was regarded for several decades as an authoritative and rightful decision.

When Collet retired early in 1720, Francis Hastings who was a senior civil servant of the Company and the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, succeeded by virtue of his position as the "immediate successor to this Government in case of the Presidents mortality or Total Absence." Unfortunately the term of office of Hastings lasted just a little more than a year and a half; he quarrelled violently with

The short rule of Francis Hastings—His supersession by Elwick

* "More pious than most of his predecessors and successors at Madras, and more honest than some, he nevertheless falls into line with men like Pitt and Harrison before him, with Benyon and Saunders after him. It should never be forgotten that without the foundations laid by Collet and his like, the victories of Clive would

Nathaniel Elwick, one of the members of his Council, who greatly provoked him by championing the cause of an Indian merchant. He was accused of insolent behaviour and his suspension was demanded by the Governor who refused to sit in Council along with him. But Elwick had very powerful friends among the Directors, who, in reply to the representation of Hastings, promptly directed him to hand over charge to his enemy, who was appointed Governor in his stead. This was an extraordinary occurrence. But it was followed by a still more surprising event.

A charge of embezzlement against Hastings

As soon as Elwick assumed the Governorhip, he called then and there for the cash-book; and when the book was examined, it showed that no entries had at all been made for several weeks and that there ought to be a large sum in the cash chest. The next day the Council met and Elwick had the cash chest opened in their presence; and it proved to be empty except for a few small papers and a coin or two. The deficit was found to be upwards of 80,000 pagodas. Poor Hastings who was ill at the time, assumed full responsibility for the cash and silver, as the cash-keeper, when questioned, said that he had sold the silver at the direction of the late Governor. Both he and Hastings were consequently put under arrest. The latter, though seriously ill, paid in a large sum and gave security for the balance from his interest in some ships of trade in which he had invested capital. Soon he handed over diamonds to the value of 20,000 pagodas and it was only after he completed the security in full that the guards were taken off his house. But his health was completely shattered and he applied for passage home for himself. Unfortunately, he died before embarking and was buried in the Fort Church at the west end of it under the tower. His grave is marked by a plain slab inscribed with the letters

have been fruitless, even had they been won. He would doubtless have been much astonished to learn that he was adding to set up an empire in India. But he would have been much less astonished at the close of his government than at its beginning." (H. H. Dodwell's "Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet," page xxiv of introduction).

"M.S.", under which is his name—"Fran: Hastings." The balance of the sum due to the treasury was completely paid by Hastings's executors. The trouble, however, did not end here. Elwick brought to the notice of the Council a paper signed by the dead Hastings and addressed to his brother and executors in which he urged the prosecution of Elwick and his Council and the Mayor of Madras, as having accelerated his disease by arrest and imprisonment. The paper was alleged to have been signed by Hastings a few days before his death. But it was proved that, at the time of signing it, Hastings was not in a position to understand its meaning; and Elwick pronounced it a most scandalous paper. In 1725, there was published in London a small book entitled "*An Essay Upon 'Friendship' delivered with a view to an Unhappy Gentleman deceas'd and a Monster just strip'd of Power which he has abu'd and is lately return'd to England,*" by a Faithful Servant and Soldier of His Majesty's." The book relates to Hastings and Elwick, though the names of the personages in it are referred to only by initial and final letters. Internal evidence shows that the author was J. Draper who was Secretary of the Council under Hastings and entered the army after he retired.*

The strange sequel of it

In the time of Hastings a quarrel occurred between the Company's men and the Mussalman havildar of the tollbar at Periamet. Now Government undertook the direct control of the three old villages, namely Egmore, Purasawakam and Tondiarpet, which were hitherto rented. It was found that the lake in Purasawakam had to be repaired and as a large number of weavers were desirous of settling in that village, several facilities were given to them for doing so.

Settlement of weavers in Purasawakam (1721)

Elwick had to present a bold front when the Nawab of the Carnatic Sa'adatullah Khan, not discouraged by his previous

*** Extracts are given by Love in his *Vestiges*. (Vol. II, pp. 217-221). Elwick is charged with "Ignorance in his Business, Indolence in the care of it and Insolence to his Superiors."**

rebuff, put forward a haughty demand for the restoration of Tiruvottiyur and four other new villages, together with the arrears of the rent due from them on the ground that they formed part of the jaghir of his over-lord the Nizam. Elwick held that he had the *farman* of the Mughal Emperor himself for these villages and pointed out that the Nawab himself had acknowledged the English right to them in the past.

Continued quarrels with the Nawab—Elwick's retirement (1725)

An embassy was sent to the Nawab who had come down to San Thomé; and Rayasam Papaiya and Sunka Rama, the English envoys, who went over to the Nawab's camp, were forcibly detained. But when Elwick roundly charged the Nawab with an abuse of his power, the latter gave in; and no further difficulty was raised about the villages. The three years of Elwick's rule were marked by economy and retrenchment on the part of Government; and nothing substantial was done to the improvement of the fortifications either of the Fort or of Black Town. Thus the short Governorship of Elwick was not marked by anything beyond the usual incidents of trade, the collection of cloth for export, the sale of Europe goods and the arrival and departure of the Company's ships with each monsoon. Elwick retired from his post in January 1725 and James Macrae took his place; and Madras was to enjoy a period of profound peace, both internal and external, under his rule.

XI

REORGANISATION OF THE CORPORATION AND FOUNDATION OF CHINTADRIPETTAH—(1725–35)

The Rule of Governor Macrae—(1725-30)

MACRAE may be called the " Prince of Merchant Governors " though his birth was lowly. He went to sea as a boy, rose to be the captain of an Indiaman and, later, to a lucrative post in the service of the Company. He early accumulated a smug fortune by private trade without creating any scandal against himself. He became the Governor of Fort St. David in course of time and stepped on from that place to the Governorship of Fort St. George in 1725. Macrae was in office for five years and proved to be a quiet, capable merchant Governor. He began his rule by putting the fortifications and buildings of the White Town in good order and by repairing the ramparts of the Black Town and the Egmore Redoubt and by erecting a new powder factory in the Island. In his time Armenian and Jewish inhabitants of the city came into great prominence; but the Governor was not very much satisfied with the behaviour of the Armenian merchants, mainly on the ground that they sent goods to and from Europe in Danish and other foreign ships, neglecting English bottoms.

Armenians at the time

It was now that a great Armenian citizen of Madras, by name Coja Petrus Uscan, became very prominent. Uscan left his mark on Old Madras. He built, at his own expense, rather rebuilt, the great Marmalong (Mambalam) Bridge which spans the Adyar river connecting Saidapet with Guindy. He is also said to have built the broad stone-steps leading to the summit of St. Thomas' Mount. The Armenians in those days were strongly attracted to the Catholic Church. Uscan was employed as political agent by the Madras Government, particularly in their negotiations, with Raghuji Bhonsle of Berar when he invaded the Carnatic in 1740. He built also a chapel in Vepery, which was later on

handed over to the Missionaries. Uscan's loyalty to the British was well-known.*

* "So far as the Armenian participation in Madras and its development is concerned, we have to be highly thankful to Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth for the account, though it is very brief, that he has given in his book—*Armenians in India* (1937)—about prominent Armenian citizens in old Madras. He says that the Armenians had begun to trade, as early as the beginning of the 16th century, with the Madras coast; and we know that some Armenians had settled permanently at Madras as early as the year 1666. The first Armenian church of the city which stood in the old—now demolished—Black Town, was erected in 1712. The present church of the Armenians at the south end of the Armenian Street, was built in the old Armenian burial-ground, in 1772. Khojah Petrus Woskan, commonly called Uscan, was a prominent man of his time, *i.e.*, about the middle of the 18th century. The present Marmalong Bridge over the Adyar at Saidapet, was said to have been first built by him in 1726. A pillar on the south end of the bridge bears a stone tablet with the following inscription in raised letters:—'Hunc Pontem Edificari Jussit Pro Bono Publico Coja Petrus Uscan, Natione Armeni, Anno Salutis MDCCXXVI.' The other charities of this personage are spread over various Armenian places of pilgrimage and embrace several charitable and educational institutions. Agah Shameer was another prominent Armenian merchant of Madras who got the grant of a town in Armenia from the hands of the Persian King. Samuel Moorat, another Madrasi Armenian merchant of great wealth, promoted the cause of education of the Armenian youth in Europe. The Rev. Arathoon Shumavon started the first Armenian journal at Madras in 1704. He had already set up a printing press for printing and publishing books in Madras in the classical Armenian language. The magazine started by him did not last long. Its revival was attempted more than once, but with no success. There was an Armenian governor of Mylapore-San Thomé as early as 1664 under the Portuguese. Mr. Seth claims that Thomas Cana who landed on the Malabar coast in 1780 A.D. was the first Armenian to land in South India. He founded a commercial colony near Cranganore and secured several privileges for the Christian community. A large amount of polemical literature has grown round him and his life in India.

Uscan is also believed to have helped in the opening of the grave of St. Thomas at San Thomé in April 1729, when it was exposed for the veneration of the faithful. A slab built into the east wall of the Church of Saint Rita, at the same place, contains an Armenian inscription signifying "in memory of the Armenian nation 1729." Uscan possessed considerable properties in Madras and particularly in the White Town. A painting of his which was done in Madras in 1737, hangs in the Cathedral at Julfa in Persia. He died in January 1751 at the age of 70 and was buried at his chapel in Vepery. The tomb may still be seen in the churchyard of St. Matthias, Vepery, containing a bilingual inscription in Latin and Armenian indicating the virtues of the personage.

The Jews in Madras

A small Jewish community also flourished in Madras at the time. The Jews were chiefly engaged in the diamond trade; and they also imported coral, both in the form of beads and in the rough, from their fellow Hebrew merchants in London. The coral dealers lived in a quarter in the northern part of Muthialpet which is even now known as Pagadalpet (coral-town) or Coral Merchants Street. We find provision made for the Jewish representatives on the Board of Aldermen in Madras. The Madras Records speak of their being permitted to live in the Fort and to have their cemetery outside in Peddanaickenpetta. A portion of the cemetery long out of use, can be seen even now by the side of Mint Street.

The Corporation Reorganised, 1727

Governor Macrae's rule was marked by the reorganization of the Mayor's Court, in virtue of the terms of a Royal Charter issued by King George I in 1726 for "establishing or reconstituting the municipalities at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta and setting up or remodelling Mayor's and other courts in each of these Presidencies." The Mayor and the Aldermen were to constitute a Mayor's Court with civil jurisdiction, subject to an appeal to the Governor or President in Council and a further appeal in some cases to the King-in-Council. The Mayor's Court now granted probates, and also exercised testamentary jurisdiction. The Governor, or President, and the five senior Members of Council were to be Justices of the Peace, and were to hold quarter-sessions four times in the year, with jurisdiction over all offences except high treason. At the same time the Company was authorised, as in previous charters, to "appoint generals and other military officers with power to exercise the inhabitants in arms, to repel force by force and to exercise martial law in times of war. The President and Council were also to be a Court of Appeal from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court, while a Court by Requests or a Court of Conscience was instituted for the decision, by summary procedure, of pecuniary questions of small value.

Thursday, the 17th August 1727, was the date when the new Mayor and Aldermen were sworn in at the Company's Garden-House in Peddanaickenpetta, where the President and Council were met to receive them, the Mayor and Aldermen proceeding from the parade-ground in the Fort through the old Black Town to the Company's Garden on horseback, with guards, peons and country music.* Soon afterwards, the President and five senior Councillors constituted themselves into a Court of Appeal and a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery; while the five Justices of the Peace appointed by the Royal Charter were also appointed Justices of the Choultry to decide small debts not exceeding 20 pagodas. It was found inconvenient that an appeal from the Justices of the Choultry, who were also members of the Superior Court, should lie to the Mayor's Court; and so the Sheriff was constituted a Court (Consultation of 27th November 1727) to decide all petty cases, without appeal as far as five pagodas, and as far as 20 pagodas on allowing the parties the liberty of appealing to the Mayor's Court. The register of slaves was to be kept by the Sheriff in the place of the Justices of the Choultry, as well as the register of sales and mortgages of houses. The Justices of the Peace were to take cognizance of all petty breaches of the peace, larceny, etc.; for lesser offences they were to inflict corporal punishment, and for others they were to bind over the accused to the sessions or to the Choultry. The Register's fees at the Mayor's Court were also notified.

A Review of the Judicial Administration in Madras

Thus we have seen that the earliest Madras courts worked under the authority of the charters of Charles II and the earlier charters which might be constructed as giving judicial powers.

* The Mayor and Aldermen proceeded from the parade ground in the Fort through Old Black Town on horse-back with guards, peons and country music in the following manner:—Major John Roach (the captain of the garrison) on horse-back at the head of a company of foot-soldiers with kettle-drum, trumpet and other music. The dancing-girls with country music; the Pedda Nayak on horse at the head of his peons; the Marshall with his staff on horse-back; the Sergeants

Up till 1678, the arrangements in Madras for the administration of justice appear to have been derived from the rules and regulations made by Governor Master and his Council in January 1678. The first Supreme Court was established in March, 1678, in the person of the Governor and the Councillors, sitting to hear causes, but not superseding the Justices of the Choultry who still decided on small misdemeanours and actions for debt. An Admiralty Court, with a Judge-Advocate from England, was established by virtue of the charter of 1683 and by the Directors' despatch of the 7th January 1687. This is the forerunner of the present High Court. The first Mayor's Court was established in the same year, with an appeal to the Court of Admiralty. A Recorder was also appointed to be an assistant to the Mayor. The Admiralty Court was soon afterwards superseded, for certain reasons, by the Governor and Council, as a court of appeal from the Mayor's Court. The new Mayor's Court created by the charter of 1726 was a Court of Record from which an appeal lay to the Governor and Council, who were constituted Justices of the Peace and a Court of Oyer. Terminer and Gaol Delivery. The Court of Directors sent out, with the charter of 1726, a Book of Instructions with respect to the method of proceeding in all actions and suits, civil and criminal, and also the forms of the oaths to be taken. It was probably in this Book of Instructions that the doctrine was laid down that, by the charter of 1726, all Common and Statute Law at the time extant in England, was introduced into and to be valid in the Indian Presidencies, and that all the Parliamentary enactments passed since that period were excluded unless their extension to India was specially declared.*

with their maces on horse-back; the old Mayor on the right hand and the new Mayor on the left; the Aldermen two and two all on horse-back; the Company's chief peon, the Sheriff with a white wand on horse-back; the chief gentry in the town on horse-back.

* The charter of 1753 re-created the Mayor's Courts with some not very material alterations, but excluding suits between Indians unless entertained with their consent. The jurisdiction of the Government courts in criminal matters was also limited to offences committed within the Presidency and the factories subordinate thereto. Later

Macrae's administration was very economical. The Governor looked minutely into the details of every aspect of the administration, himself scrutinising the purchase and sale of the Company's goods. But, at the same time, he took good care of his own personal interests and did not injure those of others. His justice commanded the respect of Indians and his severity their fear. But his Dubash, Gooda Ankanna, was severely found fault with—of course after his retirement—and had numerous petitions presented against him, being charged with extortion and using false measures in the sale of grain. The

the arrangements made by Warren Hastings, known as the Adalat scheme, were applied to the Madras territories.

In the Government itself power was vested in a majority of the Council. From the time of Foxcroft, the Council which was nebulous till then, came to take a definite shape, and it met with considerable regularity. The Governor had certain ill-defined separate powers as the commander of the garrison. The Council usually consisted of 5 or 6 members at first. The Governor was the Treasurer; the second member was the Accountant; other members managed the import and export warehouses, the customs and the mint; the youngest member of the Council was the Scavenger. The Council, till the establishment of the Recorder's Court in 1797, formed a tribunal for both civil and criminal justice. The French wars and political complications, which increased from about 1745, led to the increase of the Councillors to ten, which became the number of the Council in the second Governorship of Pigot. A Select Committee was created within the Council to deal with military and political matters and to ensure secrecy. The first Select Committee was formed in 1752. A second was appointed by the Directors in 1754, with greater powers, which lasted till 1758. There was a third Select Committee to deal with the First Mysore War and the Nawab's debts, which lasted till 1775. A fourth Committee was created in 1778 to deal with all military, political, naval and secret affairs.

Owing to the capture and occupation of Madras by the French (1746-49) the continuity of the Municipal Corporation and the Mayor's Court was destroyed, and the charter of 1726 was surrendered. A fresh charter was issued in 1753, which exempted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court "all suits and actions between Indian Natives only," and directed that all these suits were to be determined among themselves, unless both parties agreed to submit them to the Mayor's Court. This new charter (issued on the 8th January 1753) provided for the revival of the Mayor and the Aldermen. Seven of the nine Aldermen were to be natural-born subjects of the King, and only two could be foreign Protestants. The Aldermen were to continue in office for life, and from among them two were to be elected, annually by the Corporation, one of whom was to be chosen as the Mayor by the Governor in Council. The Mayor and Aldermen were to form a Court of Record for civil suits, not being between Indians arising in Madras

greater part of the charges made against Dubash were certainly false. But he was certainly equally guilty of abusing to some extent his influence with his master. He was heavily fined and made to disgorge some portion of his wealth; but Macrae was not implicated in these accusations.

Governor Morton Pitt (1730-35).

In May 1730, Macrae was superseded by George Morton Pitt, who was the son of John Pitt, a Consul of the New East India Company and born in Fort St. George itself in 1693 and baptised in St. Mary's Church. He was always mentioned by his full name in order that he might be distinguished from Captain George Pitt, a contemporary and also from his distant cousin, Governor Thomas Pitt. He was for several years a free merchant at Madras and later became the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. Morton Pitt's rule saw a steady expansion of English influence and responsibility in the Carnatic. It witnessed also the looming in the distant horizon of clouds of unrest, political disturbance and anarchy that were soon to overshadow the land; and we find in the Madras Records numerous references to and passages full of the revolutions that were taking place in the country.

Foundation of Chintadripetta

The most important event in the administration of Morton Pitt, so far as the Madras city was concerned, was the foundation of the suburb of Chintadripetta as a weavers' village. There was felt even early in his rule, a shortage of goods for export as well as a difficulty in securing the manufacture of cloth in the

and its subordinate factories. Appeals from decrees upto 1,000 pagodas were to lie to the President and Council, while in judgments for larger sums an appeal might be made to the King-in-Council. There was to be a Court of Requests for the summary decision of petty civil suits by Commissioners appointed by Government. The President and Members of Council were to be the Justices of the Peace for Madras and the subordinate factories, to hold Quarter-Sessions and Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery and to be a Court of Record dealing with all offences excepting high treason. The mode of trial was to follow English practice, and the Sheriff was to summon persons to serve as Grand and Petty Juries.

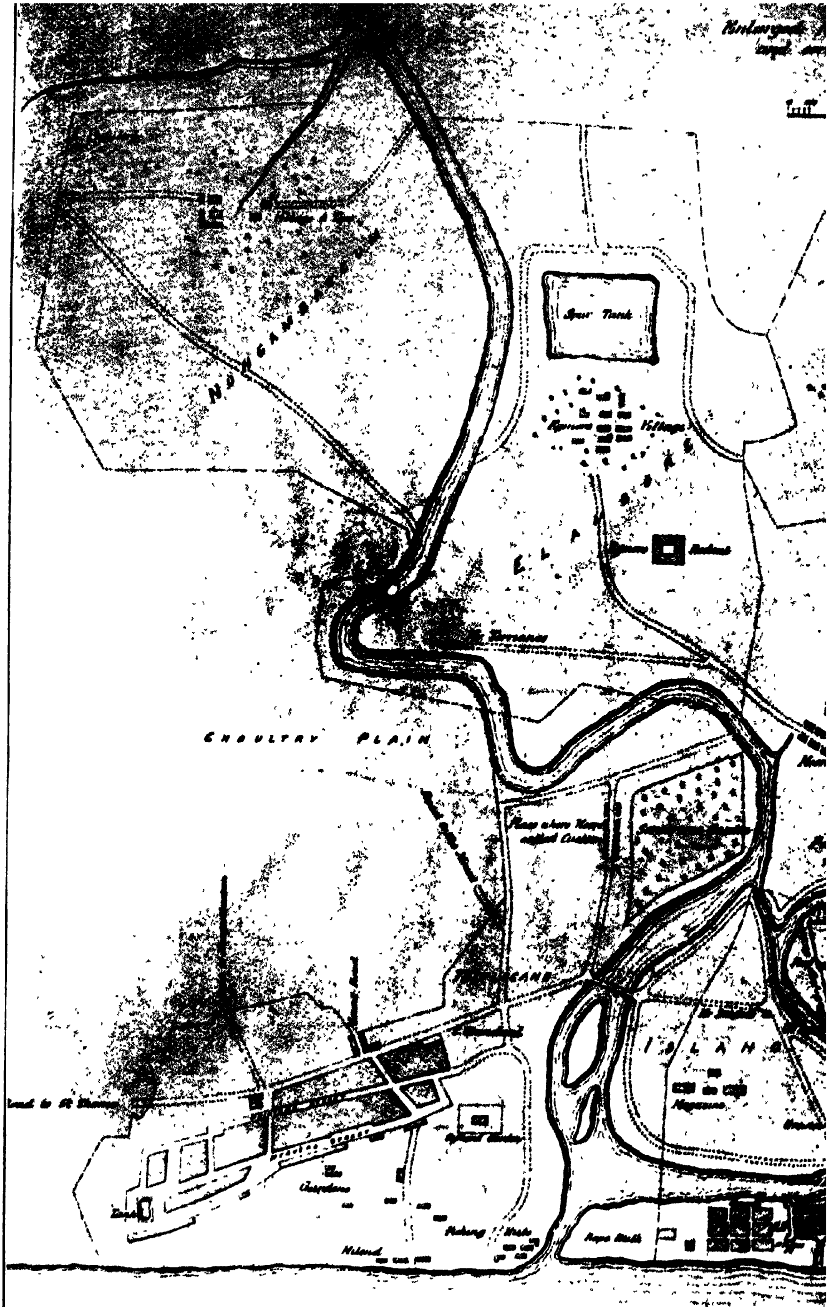
interior districts. Thambu Chetty, the Company's Chief Merchant since 1731, complained that the growing confusion in the land prevented him from disposing of the stock of broadcloth from England that had been thrust upon him for disposal. The Lingayat and Canarese merchants of the interior who were hitherto disposing of such goods, could not come to Madras and invest money in the purchase of broadcloth, metals and Bengal goods. Moreover, famine prevailed in the land, grain was scarce and weavers had to be urgently requisitioned from Salem, Udaiyarpalayam and other centres of cloth manufacture that were beginning to decline in population and prosperity. Governor Pitt took care to plant shady trees in the villages of Tiruvottiyur, Nungambakam and Vyasarpady where the weavers might work in comfort.

Now, in 1734, the Governor received proposals for building a weavers' town immediately adjacent to Black Town. Sunka Rama, who was dismissed from his post of Chief Merchant in 1731 and had fallen out of favour, had an extensive garden in the loop of land almost encircled by the Cooum, where it takes a bend before flowing into the sea. This garden measured 804 yards by 500 yards, contained many trees of substantial growth and enjoyed a good supply of water. The Governor alleged that the *cowle* of Sunka Rama giving him right of possession for this garden, was not in proper form and defective, because it had been made without the consent of the Council and without the receipt of any consideration. Sunka Rama protested, but to no purpose. The garden which was flanked by the Cooum on one side and Periamet on the other, was resumed by the Government which resolved to settle therein several hundred families of spinners, weavers, painters, washers and dyers along with Brahmans and dancing women and other necessary attendants of the pagoda. The village was to be called 'Chintadre Pettah.'* The settlers were to be approved by an officer of Government and were to exclude inhabitants

* Another name for the place has been suggested as the original, *viz.*, Chinna Tari Petta (the village of small looms).

of Madras and of the already existing suburban villages of weavers. House-sites were to be allotted to them and the houses built were to become their absolute property. There should be no distinction of streets allotted for separate castes; and it was provided expressly that any casteman might build his house in any one of them. Disputes about debts and accounts among the inhabitants were to be settled by themselves by means of arbitration, and they should not be subject to civil prosecution in the courts of Madras. No taxes were to be levied except a nominal house tax, which was to be paid for watch and ward by the Peddanaick; and the town was to be free of customs and tolls which could only be imposed by special order of Government. The cloth manufactured in the place was to pay only the usual customs in Madras.

Government undertook to lend money to two prominent merchants, by name Chinnatambi Mudaliar and Vennala Narayana Chetty, in order that they might help the settlers to build houses. These two merchants were to invite and attract weavers to the place, make cash advances to them, provide building materials and level and line the streets. The advances were to be given without any interest charged on them for a period. The full settlement of the village would take us on to the years of Governor Benyon's rule. We find that, three years after the village was founded, *i.e.*, in 1737, 90 bales of calico cloth valued at 13,000 pagodas, were expected to be produced in one season in the place. The manufactures were chiefly *ginghams*, *murrees* and long-cloth; but *betteles*, (muslins for veils) rumals, *dimities* and *sallampores* (a kind of chintz) were also produced in small quantities. Some time later a mint was established in the village. The temple of Adikesava Perumal (the Patron Deity of the place) was built by Vennala Narayan or Adiyappa Narayan, who subsequently became the Dubash to Governor Benyon. Narayan is said to have built two pagodas with contributions obtained from the people of the neighbouring country and with a large sum disbursed from his private purse. Narayan died in 1743, but his estate got into


Spur Tank
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CHOULTRY PLAIN
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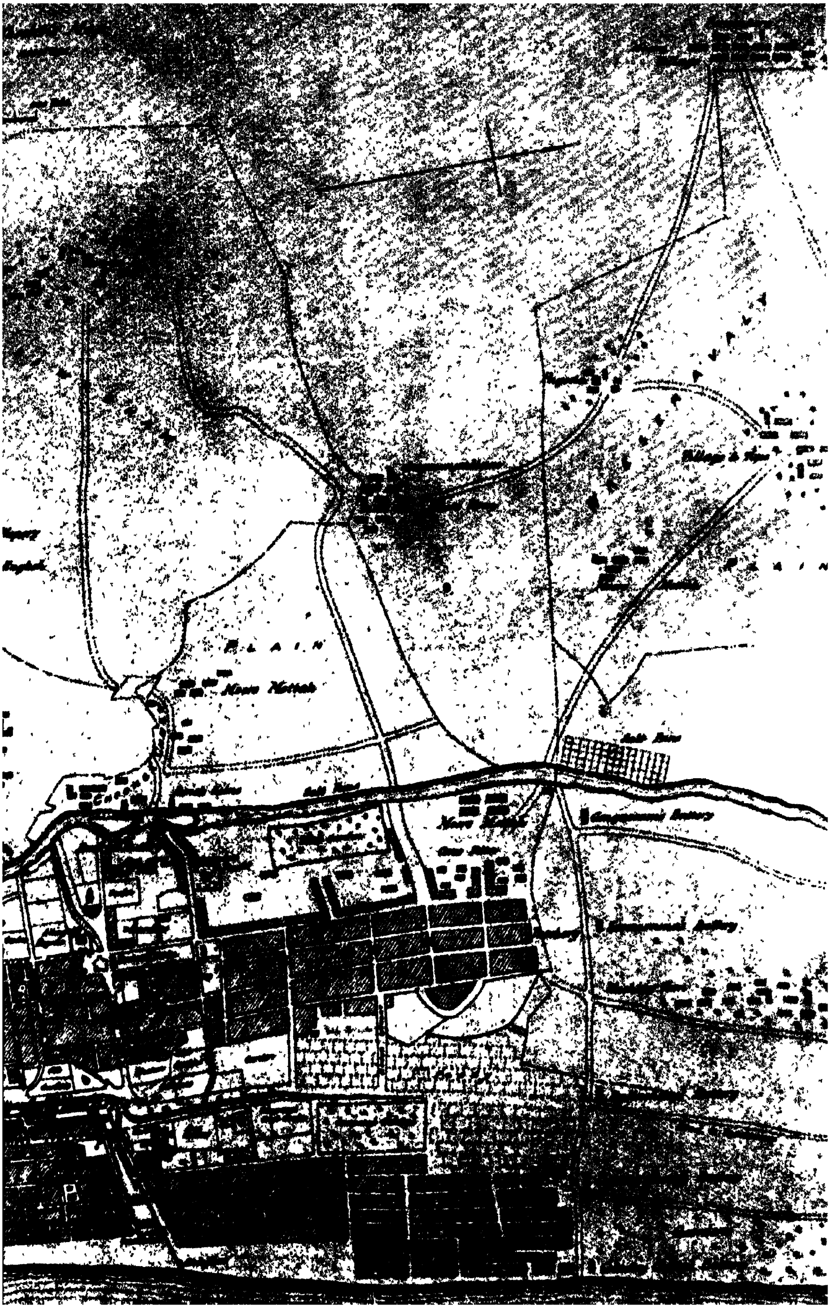
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difficulties with the Company as usual, the latter claiming the refund of advances given to him. Disputes regarding the recovery of dues to him were for long troubling the Government and the Court of Directors.

Map of Madras of 1733

In 1733, a map of Madras and its villages was drawn up by order of the Governor. It shows the whole coast extending from Triplicane to Ennore and the country inland as far as Nungambakam and Perambur. A lithographed reproduction of that map was published by Mr. Wheeler; and it is profitable for the student of Madras history to study this map and compare it closely with the map drawn up in the time of Thomas Pitt. This map is reproduced with places marked in it under the title 'Madras in 1733—Enlarged from Talboys Wheeler's Map, and corrected from other sources' by Colonel Love in his second volume. In this reproduced map, the out-batteries of the pettas the chief suburban villages, the chief gardens and the principal streets of the White and Black Towns of Triplicane, Peddanaickenpetta and Muthialpetta are all given. Closely connected with this topic is Governor Pitt's construction of a colonnade extending from the Sea-gate to the Fort Square. This colonnade was an avenue of four rows of pillars supporting a terraced roof and forming a sheltered way from the Sea-Gate. Its vicissitudes are interesting and worthy of note. "The thirty-two columns of black Pallavaram gneiss which formed the approach were carried off by the French in 1746, and set up for the adornment of Pondicherry. After the fall of that place in 1761 they were brought back to Madras and re-erected in their original position. The colonnade, which served for many years as an exchange, remained an open-sided covered way until some time in the nineteenth century, when it was converted into a close building by walling up the spaces between those pillars which formed the perimeter of the structure. In later years the edifice, somewhat prolonged to the westward, has been used for the Government Press and subsequently as a Record room; but in 1910 it was dismantled to make room for a new Council

Chamber, in the construction of which the best preserved of the columns have been incorporated.'' (Love's '*Vestiges of Old Madras*', Vol. II, page 262).

Thus Governor Morton Pitt's administration went off without any marked trouble confronting it. The policing of Black Town seems to have received an improvement in his time. But soon ordinary policemen were forced by circumstances to take up the duties of the fighting sepoys. Governor Benyon's rule which followed was to be the critical period in the history of Madras, and was to form a connecting link, as it were, between the humdrum routine of the life of Madras that lasted till 1735 and the significant events that made themselves felt in the strength and fortunes of the English power commencing from about 1742.

XII

MADRAS FROM 1735 TO 1752

Governor Benyon (1735—1744)—*Revolution in the Carnatic—The Maratha Invasion of* 1740-41

GOVERNOR Benyon had long been in the service of the Company and risen to be the Second in Council in 1732. He was in office as Governor for the unusually long period of nine years; and his rule was marked by very important events that effected a most momentous and fundamental revolution in the Carnatic. First, there was the invasion of the Marathas under Raghuji Bhonsle which produced a convulsion in the political situation, the prostration of the authority of the Nawab of the Carnatic and the removal of Chanda Sahib, the famous adventurer, from Trichinopoly to political confinement in Maharashtra. Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic, died in battle with the Marathas; and his son, Safdar Ali, escaped to Vellore and contrived to buy off the invaders by paying them a large sum of money and even winking at their attack on Chanda Sahib of Trichinopoly who was a dangerous rival to his own power. Chanda Sahib himself was the nephew and son-in-law of Dost Ali and had contrived to get possession of Trichinopoly and Madura by dispossessing the ruling Nayak line by treachery. Trichinopoly was now in Maratha hands and Chanda Sahib was taken prisoner and sent off to Satara where he remained in captivity for eight years (1741).

The English sent presents to the Maratha general, Raghuji Bhonsle, through Peter Uscan, the well-known Armenian merchant of Madras, and, in return, secured *cowles* for both Madras and Fort St. David (April 1741). Safdar Ali resolved, on account of the insecurity prevailing in the country, to send his young son and wife for safety to Madras where they were securely lodged in the Black Town. Safdar Ali himself made several visits to Madras in the course of the next year. Shortly afterwards, the Nawab was assassinated in a scuffle at the instigation of a treacherous relation of his, Murtaza Ali, the killedar of Vellore;

but the army proclaimed his young son to be the new Nawab. Word was sent to Madras of the news and the boy-Prince was proclaimed ruler of the Carnatic with due pomp and ceremony at the Company's Garden-House, in December 1742. As we already saw, the young Nawab recompensed the English for the hospitality they showed him by granting them, as a free gift, five villages including Vepery, Perambur and Pudupakam, as well as the right to coin Arcot rupees at their mint, to be set up in Chintadripettah. Some minor privileges relating to Chintadripettah were also given by grant of the same date, (4th November 1742). The five villages granted were Vepery, Perambur and Pudupakam, Ernavore near Tiruvottiyur and Sadayankuppam also near that place. Thus Madras secured the third batch of suburban villages—the two former batches already got being (1) the "three old towns" of Egmore, Purasawakam and Tondiarpet and (2) the "five new villages" of Nungambakam, Vyasarpady, Tiruvottiyur, Sattangadu and Kattiwakam. The five villages now secured were actually granted by the boy-Nawab though, perhaps, their gift might have been authorised by Safdar Ali before his death.

Acquisition of Vepery, Perambur, Pudupakam etc.—(1742)

Governor Benyon had to be very careful in the face of the dangers from the Marathas and the general unsettlement in the country. He put the city in a position of effective defence, cleared a field of fire, 200 yards wide, on the west and north sides of Black Town and armed all Europeans including Armenians. He also took steps for constructing a regular curtain on the west front of the Fort with batteries and points all along it. It was Benyon that brought the Fort to the condition it was in when the French attacked it in 1746. He also drew up rules for the discipline of the garrison and even planned to extend the fortifications west of the White Town across the North River into the Island. The Directors sent out an expert to examine the defences of the Fort. The latter reported in favour of diverting more to the west the course of the North River, filling up its old bed, enlarging the interior

of the White Town and advancing the west front to the Island. It has been speculated by historians that, if these plans had been put into execution,—they were cut short by the sudden death of the expert, Major Knipe—the Fort would not have easily capitulated to the French attack and the fate of Madras would have taken an entirely different course. It is interesting to note that the Directors accepted the recommendations of Major Knipe, a very unusual thing for them to do.

Anwaruddin Khan—the new Nawab of the Carnatic (1748)

To revert to the Indian powers:—The great Nizamù'l-Mulk, having returned from Delhi, now resolved to settle the Carnatic and its affairs in person with a view to restore order and re-establish his supremacy. He arrived at Arcot at the head of a large army, turned out the Maratha garrison from Trichinopoly, recognized, in a manner, the rule of the young boy-Nawab and made himself feared by all the petty rulers of the country. The boy-Nawab visited the Nizam who promised to consider his claims to the Nawabship when he should grow up and entrusted the charge of the Carnatic, for the time being, to one of his own officers. This last mentioned person died suddenly before he could take up his office; and his place was given over by the Nizam to Anwaruddin Khan who was the ruler of Chicacole and Rajahmundry. Soon after Anwaruddin came to Arcot, the boy-Prince was killed in an affray; and the new Nawab, though generally suspected of having had a hand in the crime, was absolved from all blame and confirmed in his office by the Nizam (1744). Anwaruddin thus superseded the old Navayat family of Sa'datullah which had been in power for over thirty years. Anwaruddin's rule was unpopular at first and greatly disliked by the adherents of the old family (1744).*

Shortly before the accession of Anwaruddin, when Nizamù'l-Mulk was blockading Trichinopoly in order to seize it from

***Paupiah Brahman, the Company's Linguist, wrote that the new Nawab's rule was "the most spiritless, covetous, severe and unjust" of all the administrations of the Carnatic.**

Murari Rao, its Maratha captain, Governor Benyon thought that he had an opportunity of obtaining from him a confirmation of the recent grant of the five villages. He sent an embassy, with a numerous retinue and a large supply of valuable presents, to the Nizam by way of Conjeevaram and Gingee. The Nizam, however, would make no definite promise; and the embassy had to return without accomplishing anything. Thomas Eyre who headed the embassy has left a diary of his doings which has been given in full by Mr. Talboys Wheeler in his book—*Madras in the Olden Time*. Benyon was not daunted by the failure of the mission, but continued to carry on negotiations with one, Imam Sahib, who was a powerful man at the court of Dost Ali and was now equally influential with the Nizam.

The new Star Pagodas of Madras

The mint at Chintadripettah was now to become very prominent. There had been going on a gradual debasement of gold pagodas. Governor Morton Pitt had consequently to coin a new variety of pagoda, which would supersede the existing ones. The result was that these pagodas carried a premium and were very difficult to exchange. The attempt to coin this variety was given up after five years. Now the debasement of the coins of the country extended even to gold mohurs. The Madras Council claimed to have discovered from the records that their mint had the right to coin gold mohurs of 95 touch, having got this privilege as early as 1692. Now the Madras Pagodas were ordered to be replaced by the famous Star Pagodas, which remained the standard currency of South India till 1818. They are first mentioned under that name in the records of 1741; and the Consultation of the 9th of April of that year provided that "no other pagodas than such as are coined in the Hon'ble Company's Mint of 80 Touch, every hundred Pagodas to weigh Ten Ounces Nineteen pennyweights, should from henceforth be deemed the current money of this place."

The Chintadripetta Mint was started with a view to effect a purification of the currency. Nawab Dost Ali had closed his mints at San Thomé and Covelong and permitted the transfer

of the Poonamallee mint to Chintadripetta, where gold mohurs, and Arcot rupees were struck. We saw how Benyon negotiated through Peter Uscan and Imam Sahib for a confirmation of the new rights of coinage from the Nizam. He also struck the Arcot rupees required for use in Bengal at the Fort Mint. It is said that Linga Chetty who was the undertaker of the Mint, actually coined Arcot rupees of a fine type. Thus, about 1745, the Madras Mints coined "Star pagodas, Madras pagodas, Madras gold mohurs and Arcot rupees in silver besides the coins of smaller denominations under each standard." The pagoda was exchanged for eight shillings sterling, though the Company's servants were paid their salaries in sterling at nine shillings to the pagoda. The pagoda also exchanged for three rupees between Madras and Bengal.

Coins minted at Madras

Accession of Governor Morse (1744)

Governor Morse succeeded Benyon as the President of the Council in January 1744. He had to give up his office when Madras submitted to the French in September 1746. He was carried off a prisoner to Pondicherry, later released and sent to England to render an account of his proceedings. He eventually returned to Madras where he lived for a number of years. The news of the war with France reached Madras in September 1744; and immediately Morse began to prepare for the eventuality and established rapid communication overland with Bengal and arranged for the supply of two swift despatch boats from Bombay.

Governor Morse (1744-46) found himself in a difficult situation. Dupleix had written to him earlier that peace should be preserved between the two nations in the Indian Ocean. But an English squadron had already been despatched to India; and it actually reached Madras in August 1745. Nawab Anwaruddin was alarmed at the prospect of a war between Madras and Pondicherry and wrote to Morse to forbid hostilities with the French, to which he replied that he would not be the

first to disobey the command. The Nawab himself subsequently came to San Thomé and received the English very cordially.

The English fleet might have easily attacked and captured Pondicherry, but did not do so. It retired, on the outbreak of the monsoon, to the Archipelago. Meanwhile, De La Bourdonnais, an intrepid soldier and Governor of Bourbon, came to the rescue of Dupleix with a fleet. He fought an indecisive engagement with the English fleet on the coast; and the latter hovered for sometime in the neighbourhood of Madras and then sailed away to Bengal, thus abandoning the English settlement to its fate. Dupleix and De La Bourdonnais decided on a serious attack of Madras; and the French fleet under the command of the latter appeared before Fort St. George on the 3rd September 1746. De La Bourdonnais landed his men on the coast at a short distance to the north of the present Ice House, occupied the Company's Garden-House in Peddanaickenpettah, erected a battery under its cover and opened shell fire on the Fort. Three French ships took their post in front of the Fort and cannonaded it from the sea. The firing continued for two days and on the third day the English Governor and garrison capitulated. The English had already spiked the guns on the walls of Black Town and withdrawn the guards into the Fort for the defence of which alone they thought themselves to be equipped.

The capitulation took place on the 10th of September; and in the afternoon of that day the white flag of the Bourbons was hoisted over the ramparts of Fort St. George, while the garrison and all the English in the town became prisoners of war.

De La Bourdonnais had written to Dupleix at first that the Fort had surrendered at his own discretion; but he later on maintained that a proviso was inserted in the deed of capitulation that the English should have a right to ransom the place. Dupleix and the Pondicherry Council resolved on keeping Madras for themselves; and for the next six weeks, an acrimonious correspondence was carried on between Dupleix at Pondicherry and De La Bourdonnais at Madras which grew

warmer and warmer till at last the former sent commissioners to Madras to take charge of the town.

De La Bourdonnais now became defiant and refused to yield, but a violent monsoon storm broke on the coast in October and made havoc among the French ships lying in the roadstead. De La Bourdonnais was greatly depressed by his losses and resolved to hand over Madras to Dupleix, but signed with the English a treaty of capitulation on his own terms and sailed away.

To appease the Nawab, Dupleix had promised to make over Madras to him as soon as it should come into his hands. He now repudiated De La Bourdonnais's agreement, defied the Nawab and removed the merchandise, stores, bullion and ordnance to Pondicherry to the total value of nearly 20 lakhs of rupees. Those Englishmen who refused to swear allegiance to the French King were sent as prisoners to Pondicherry; and among the latter were many of the army officers and several of the civil servants, including Governor Morse and Clive who was then a raw writer.

The changes effected by the French in the fortifications

The French were in occupation of Madras for three years till August 1749. They planned to retain it permanently; they demolished the Indian houses of Black Town which adjoined the north wall of the Fort and formed a glacis with the debris. They effected no great change, however, in the Fort itself; but more than half of Black Town (its southern portion), all its walls and the Company's garden-house in Peddanaickenpettah were all demolished for the better protection of the Fort from the fire of an enemy. The changes effected in the fortifications of Madras by the French during their three years of occupation can be clearly noted from two maps preserved among the records. First, a survey by John Apperley, an engineer under Admiral Boscawen, dated 1749 August, which shows the fortifications of the White Town and the remains of Old Black Town after the French had destroyed a portion of it, and also parts of the Island and the western suburb of Peddanaickenpettah, the latter

being called the Maratha Town. From this we come to know that the French were responsible for the demolition of Old Black Town to a distance of 400 yards from the north wall of the Fort, and also for the glacis on the north and south fronts of it and for a small bridge-head with a glacis on the Island Ground opposite the western gate. (2) The second plan was drawn up by Bickerstaff, also an engineer under Admiral Boscawen. His plan is on a larger scale than the first, but shows the fortifications and buildings only of the White Town. The Church of St. Mary's in the Fort was used for military forces by the French, who also built the glacis on the Island and projected new lines of wall so as to take in a portion of the Island and thus enlarged the Fort on its western side.*

The rendition of Madras to the English (August 1749)

When Madras was lost to the English, Fort St. David (Cuddalore) became the seat of their Presidency on the coast. Dupleix launched several attacks on it, in which Clive who had been given a military commission and Major Stringer Lawrence distinguished themselves. At last, Admiral Boscawen appeared with a powerful squadron on the coast in July 1748. The English now took the offensive and made an abortive attack on Pondicherry. Soon after news of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle reached India and Madras had to be restored to the English. Commissaries proceeded to Pondicherry and arranged with Dupleix for the evacuation of Madras by the French. They then proceeded to Madras, accompanied by Clive. The actual rendition of the city to the English took place on the 21st August 1749, (Old Style). The English complained that the French had diminished the strength of the fortifications and deprived the fort of all the useful and valuable stores. The walls and bastions, they said, had become so weak that they could not bear heavy cannon on them and were likely to fall down in the next rainy season. Boscawen as we already

* Refer to the author's Notes on the Maps illustrative of the growth of Madras—Journal of the Madras Geographical Association—Vol. III, No. 3.

saw, arranged to have plans of the Fort, as it was at the time of the rendition, prepared. The historian, Robert Orme, alone maintains that the French had enlarged and improved the bastions and batteries. Orme, however, came to Madras only some years later, and the Council at Fort St. David, immediately after the rendition, wrote that the French had undermined the fortifications and that the condition in which the Fort was delivered, was extremely bad. The engineers and the brick-layers could not find a way to repair the walls and there was very little time for any elaborate plan of improvement to be made.

Fort St. David continued the seat of the Presidency till 1752 and Madras remained only a subordinate station for three years. For some time Major Lawrence remained in charge of the city. Then Richard Prince was appointed the Deputy Governor of Fort St. George. Everything had to be done anew to restore the normal working of the city's life. Many of the former European residents who had abandoned the place now returned to it readily. The Choultry Court was reconstituted, but the English came to be suspicious of the Armenians and the Catholic priests, because they were believed to have been intriguing with the French. The Armenians were asked to withdraw from the White Town after selling their houses to the European Protestant merchants.

The French, during the period of their occupation, had tried their best to induce many of the Tamil merchants who had abandoned the town to come back to it; but they had not succeeded much. Ananda Ranga Pillai, the famous Diarist of Pondicherry, thus writes about the people flocking back to Madras on its rendition to the English:—"The Brahmans did *pūja,* cocoanuts were broken, sheep sacrificed and other Tamil ceremonies performed, before the flag was hoisted; then an extraordinary salute was fired from the Fort and from the (Boscawen's) ships. We do not know where the Tamils were who left Madras and would not return in our time; but when their (English) flag was hoisted, ten lakhs of Tamils, Muhammadans, Lubbays, Pattanawars, coolies, etc., crowded

into the town as joyfully as though the Fort and town belonged to each one of them."* Of course the trade of the times was not prosperous. The country trade was dull; but while Madras was ruined, Pondicherry was not correspondingly benefited. Dupleix arranged about this time to invite various classes of weavers, Kaikolars, Sedars and Seniyars, to settle at Villiyanallur in the vicinity of Pondicherry and to advance them ten pagodas a loom, in order to enable them to build houses and construct looms. This was as if an answer were to be made for the English planting of weaving villages at Kaladipettah (originally, Colletpettah) near Tiruvottiyur and at Chintadripettah to the west of the Island Ground in Madras by Governors Joseph Collet and Morton Pitt in 1719 and 1734 respectively.

The battle of the Adyar River (November 1746)

Soon after the French occupation of Madras, Nawab Anwaruddin resolved to make good his claim to it by force and sent his son, Maphuz Khan, to seize the surrounding country and prevent all ingress into Madras. In October 1746 when the Nawab's troops cut off the garrison's water supply, a French force sallied out of the Fort and put to rout the enemy. Meanwhile, the latter were confronted with a body of troops sent from Pondicherry by Dupleix, on the bank of the Adyar River to the south of San Thomé. Owing to the ineffective fire of the Indians and their undisciplined and unwieldy cavalry, the French got an easy victory and dispersed the Muslim troops across San Thomé. This easy victory of the French over the numerous army of the Nawab made a great impression on the popular mind of the strength of European artillery and discipline. The battle reversed the positions of the Nawab and the French Governor and transferred the prestige and the morale

* This is confirmed, as Mr. Dodwell notes, by the Fort St. David despatch to the Company, dated August 30, 1749 (Old Style):—The rendition has occasioned 'universal joy among the late inhabitants who thronged there in great numbers, immediately on hoisting the English flag.' 'All French efforts failed to induce them to return; and the French are mortified at the present token of attachment to the English. Its condition is indifferent; all the fortifications are undermined and all useful stores have been carried off.'

from the Muhammadans to the European settlers. Orme says that the French victory broke through the charm of the timorous opinion about the courage and bravery of the Muhammadan troops. A similar opinion of the significance of this battle is expressed by Dupleix himself in his *Memoires.*

English occupation of San Thome (1749)

It was also during the years of French occupation that a revolution occurred in the Carnatic in which Anwaruddin was killed in battle by Chanda Saheb who had been meanwhile released from his Maratha prison largely through Dupleix's efforts. Chanda Sahib had joined hands with Muzaffar Jung, a grandson of Nizamù'l-Mulk (died 1748), who claimed the throne of the Deccan as against his uncle, Nasir Jang, the rightful successor. Both now invaded the Carnatic with a powerful army, and after the defeat and death of Anwaruddin in battle, they proceeded to Arcot where Chanda Saheb was proclaimed Nawab; and then they went to Pondicherry where they were warmly received by Dupleix who had all along been their steady counsellor and supporter. Dupleix was now given by them a number of villages in the vicinity of Pondicherry which more than doubled the area of the French settlement. As if in answer to those proceedings of the French, Admiral Boscawen who was at Madras, took possession of San Thomé and Mylapore on behalf of Muhammad Ali, the refugee son of Anwaruddin, whom the English now sided and who easily gave a *farman* for the English occupation of the place. Boscawen's fear was that Dupleix would have occupied San Thomé as a counterpoise to the loss of Madras, under a grant from Chanda Sahib.

Boscawen had always suspected the priests of the Capuchin Church in the Fort as having displayed affection and good will to the French. He advised that Father Antony de Noronha, who had been appointed Procurator of the Portuguese at San Thomé by the Viceroy of Goa and the havildar of Mylapore by Chanda Sahib, should be deported and made a prisoner and his papers secured. Boscawen and the English Council had definite information that Dupleix was determined to get posses-

sion of San Thomé as a counterpoise to the loss of Madras. The Fort St. David Council wrote to Boscawen that the *Padre* was to come with a detachment of French troops to build the fort that he had already begun. They requested from Muhammad Ali, their *protégé*, for a *farman* for the occupation of the place on the ground that the French possession of San Thomé would have ruined the trade of Madras and enabled them "constantly to observe all our transactions." The *farman* of Muhammad Ali was dated the 2nd October and Boscawen's occupation of the place took place on the 11th.

When Madras remained a subordinate settlement under Fort St. David, there was a recrudescence of caste troubles and the Council resolved to act on the basis of the compromises made by Governors Pitt and Macrae. It was also now that the Esplanade on the north and west sides of Old Black Town, separating it from Muthialpettah and Peddanaickenpettah respectively, was made common to both divisions. This Esplanade was known as the Maratha Ground, (Moratto Ground) because it had been cleared of houses at the time of the threatened incursion of the Marathas, similar in origin to the 'Maratha Ditch,' of Calcutta.

Plans of Robins

Soon after Madras came back into the possession of the English, the Company sent out a distinguished mathematician and engineer, Robins by name, who began plans for remodelling and strengthening Fort St. George. Though Robins died soon afterwards, his designs were fully carried out by his successors, Brohier and Call, to which reference will be made later. Benjamin Robins, a Fellow of the Royal Society and a distinguished mathematician, and the author of *New Principles of Gunnery* (1742), (a book which was translated by Euler for Frederick the Great) was appointed in 1749 to be the Chief Engineer of the Company's settlements in the East and commissioned to report upon the additions and alterations required in their fortresses. Regarding Madras he made proposals in 1750 for the fortification of Muthialpettah and Peddanaickenpettah ("to which jointly, the appellation

Black Town was now transferred in consequence of the demolition of the greater part of Old Black Town'') by building an enclosing wall sufficiently strong to stand a siege. He also put forward designs for the fortification of the White Town, mainly by completing the plan of extending the west front on into the Island and diverting the course of the river as a consequence. Robins died of exhaustion and fever at Fort St. David in July 1751. Brohier, Robins's assistant, improved to some extent the new western face of the Fort; and in 1752, Major Frederick Scott was commissioned to examine Fort St. David and Fort St. George and prepare designs for their improvement. The improvements effected in the Fort, consequent on these plans, will be detailed below.

XIII

MADRAS UNDER SAUNDERS AND PIGOT AND THEIR SUCCESSORS (1752-1775)

In December 1749, Richard Prince became Deputy Governor of Fort St. George, under Fort St. David. He was followed by Richard Stark for about three months in 1752 and then by Thomas Saunders, who moved up from Fort St. David when Madras again became the Presidency (April 1752). It was now that we hear of the famous Robert Orme, the historian so often mentioned in the Madras Records. Orme was born at Anjengo in 1728, went out to Calcutta at the early age of 14 and in the succeeding year became a writer in the Company's service. In 1751 he visited Madras and probably also Fort St. David and made the acquaintance of Clive and others, who were later on to be the heros of his *magnum opus*—"History of Indostan—and also to be the sources of his information. Orme became Member of Council at Madras in 1754, when he was appointed Export Warehouse-keeper and Commissioner for the Nawab's accounts. When news reached Madras of the capture of Calcutta by Siraju'd-Daula, it was Orme who convinced the Council that nothing short of the most vigorous hostilities would induce the Nawab to make peace or proper reparation. It was again Orme that secured, with the generous support of Colonel Lawrence, the appointment, to the command of the expedition, of Clive "as the person in all respects best qualified for the undertaking." In all the deliberations of the Madras Council relating to military operations between 1754 and 1759, Orme took an active part. His abilities were so warmly appreciated by the Directors that they appointed him to the succession to the Governorship. His superior literary abilities, rendered acuter still by his close study of classical literature, were utilised by the Council; and he was frequently called upon to draft important public letters. In this capacity he was, after his retirement to England, of great use to Clive and to the Court of Directors; while the inscriptions on the monuments to Colonel

Lawrence and Sir Eyre Coote were composed by him. Orme was proud of his literary abilities; and his friends played upon his vanity by dubbing him Cicero. He was a kindly and generous friend; and his *History*, as well as his private correspondence, shows "how quickly he was fired to admiration by any tale of gallantry or daring whether its subject was English, French or Indian." His regard for General Bussy was reciprocated by that able commander who supplied the historian with copies of his various marches in the Nizam's territory and with particulars of other military and political transactions of his period of command in India. Orme also praises the great military reputation of Yusuf Khan, the able sepoy commandant; and in a letter of his, we read the description of a great gallant act of the Khan, for which he was praised to Lord Holdernesse, the British Secretary of State as "the bravest among the sons of Muhammad in India." Orme always wrote of Duplcix with great respect.

The task of Governor Saunders

The rule of Saunders was a very momentous period for English fortunes in South India; and the task before him was difficult both within and without the Presidency. Within the Fort everything had to be reconstituted and reorganized. Property claims had to be settled and justice had to be restored. Outside the city, Clive's great exploits coupled with those of Lawrence secured for the English virtual victory over their rivals and brought about the Treaty of Pondicherry.

Clive was Steward at Fort St. David, when he was sent on the famous diversion on Arcot with a military commission. He returned to Madras from his first great victorious campaign in December 1751. At the end of 1752 Clive became the Steward of Fort St. George; and in February of the following year, he was married in the Fort Church to Margaret Maskelyne, sister of Edmund Maskelyne who was in the service of the Government.

Apart from the great and absorbing interest and importance of the operations going on round Trichinopoly in the years

1725-54, the growth of Madras was marked in those years by the re-establishment of its civic institutions and by the improvement of its defences.

Remission of the town rent (1752)

The first important thing to be noted was the remission, by Nawab Muhammad Ali, the ally of the English, of the town rent of Madras, in view of "the late successful turn in the Nabob's Affairs owing to the assistance the Company had lent him." It may be remembered that this rent was the commutation value of the overlord's share of the customs dues of Madras. Two years later, the Nawab granted the right of "Country Music" to the English the maintenance of which however, involved the Company in the feeding of one elephant upon which the *nakkara* was mounted, 12 horses bearing kettle-drums and trumpeteers and a corresponding number of men, amounting to a total monthly charge of 439 rupees. The Directors cancelled this useless and costly piece of pageantry in 1757.

Acquisition of Poonamallee

Poonamallee was granted by the Nawab to the English as early as 1750, certainly before Clive's defence of Arcot. The Poonamallee country was expected to yield an annual revenue of 44,000 pagodas and the *jaghir* a little less than 3,000 pagodas. In those days, Poonamallee and San Thomé were regarded as the outposts of Madras on the west and south respectively.

It was about this time that the Nawab pledged to the Company, towards the discharge of his debts due to them, the districts of Chingleput, Covelong, Manimangalam and the seven *māgānams* of Tirupachchur, each *māgānam* of the last being a revenue district, comprising about half a dozen villages.

George II's Charter of 1753

One change that may be noted here was with reference to the continuity of the life of the Madras Corporation. Owing to the capture and occupation of Madras by the French (1746-49), the continuity of the Municipal Corporation and the Mayor's Court was destroyed, and the Charter of 1726 was surrendered. A fresh Charter was issued in 1753, which exempted from the jurisdiction of the

Mayor's Court, "all suits and actions between Indian Natives only" and directed that all these suits were to be determined among themselves, unless both parties agreed to submit them to the Mayor's Court. This new Charter, issued on the 8th of January 1753, provided for the revival of the Mayor and the Aldermen. Seven of the nine aldermen were to continue in office for life, and from among them, two were to be elected annually by the Corporation, one of whom was to be chosen as the Mayor by the Governor in Council.* The Mayor and Aldermen were to form a Court of Record for civil suits, of persons not being between Indians arising in Madras and its subordinate factories. Appeals from decrees up to 1,000 pagodas were to lie to the President and Council, while in judgements for larger sums an appeal might be made to the King-in-Council. There was to be a Court of Requests for the summary decision of petty civil suits by commissioners appointed by Government. The President and Members of Council were to be the Justices of the Peace for Madras and the subordinate factories, to hold Quarter-Sessions and Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery and to be a Court of Record dealing with all offences excepting high treason. The mode of trial was to follow English practice, and the Sheriff was to summon persons to serve as Grand and Petty Juries.

The starting of the new Corporation

The Charter empowered the Company to appoint generals of all forces by sea and by land and to raise and maintain troops. The Company was also authorised to repel attacks and invasions and exercise martial law in time of war. The Charter was put into operation on the 13th August 1753, when the Sheriff, the Coroner and other officials were appointed. The insignia of the old Mayor's Court were lost during the French occupation, and the Bombay Council was requested to supply the sword, the

* "Cornelius Goodwin is nominated 'the next and modern Mayor' of the said Town or Factory of Madraspatnam: and William Percival, Dawsonne Drake, Robert Clive, Samuel Banks, John Walsh, Samuel Greenhaugh, George Mackay, Andrew Ross and William Roberts, Merchants, to be the next and modern Aldermen."

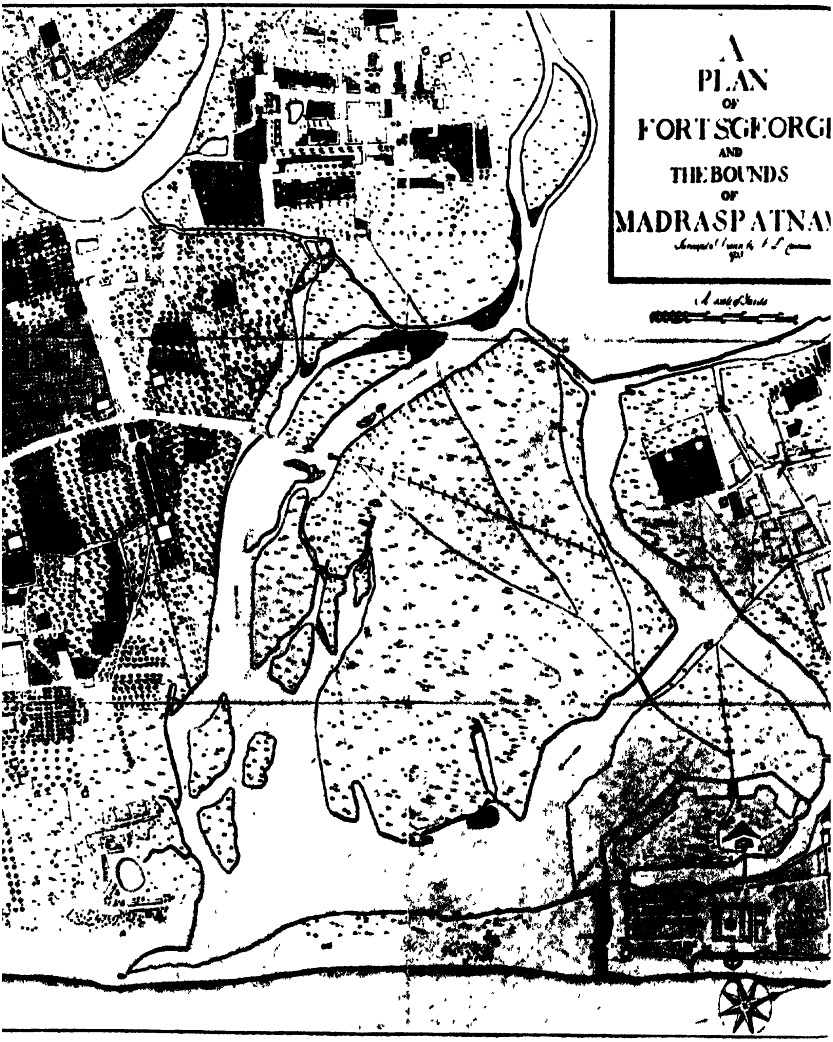
mace, the silver oar and other articles, which were deemed to have been lost. It was afterwards found that the insignia were not really lost, but had been saved at the capitulation of Madras and subsequently sold for the Company.

We can now turn our attention to the great improvements effected in the fort area and in the defence of the town. The work of reconstruction of the Fort was taken seriously on hand in 1755. Colonel Scott, the successor of Robins, died within a few months after his taking charge; he, however, contrived to make a survey of the Fort and of its projected improvements. According to his plan, two new fronts were designed facing north-west and north respectively. This design was approved by the Court of Directors, though subsequently modified. It also included the diversion of the course of the North River further west and the filling up of its old bed which was to be taken into the new fortifications. Soon after Scott's premature death, Government established a Committee of Works, which administered for over 30 years the department of fortifications and buildings and was largely responsible for the bringing of Fort St. George to its final shape.

Conradi's Survey Map of 1755

A new survey of Madras was made in 1755. The Council ordered that Brohier, the successor of Scott, should direct its completion. The result is that we have for our study a coloured map now preserved in the British Museum and drawn to a scale of 60 yards to the inch, and headed "A Plan of Fort St. George and the Bounds of Madraspatnam, surveyed and drawn by F. L. Conradi, 1755."* This survey shows us the full formation

* Conradi very probably assisted Brohier in the survey operations and was a good hand at the drawing up of plans. This map has been reproduced for Love's work and a copy of it is kept in the Madras Record Office. The map shows all "the region from the line of Choultries (out-batteries on the outerside of Peddanaickenpetta and Muthialpetta) and the Bound-Hedge on the north to Chepauk on the south and from the sea on the east to the Elambore or North River and the Chintadripetta Pagoda on the west." According to the high authority of Colonel Love, this map repays careful study as it marks "the transition from ancient to modern Madras." In the map the Fort's outworks on the Island are also to be seen. The old channel of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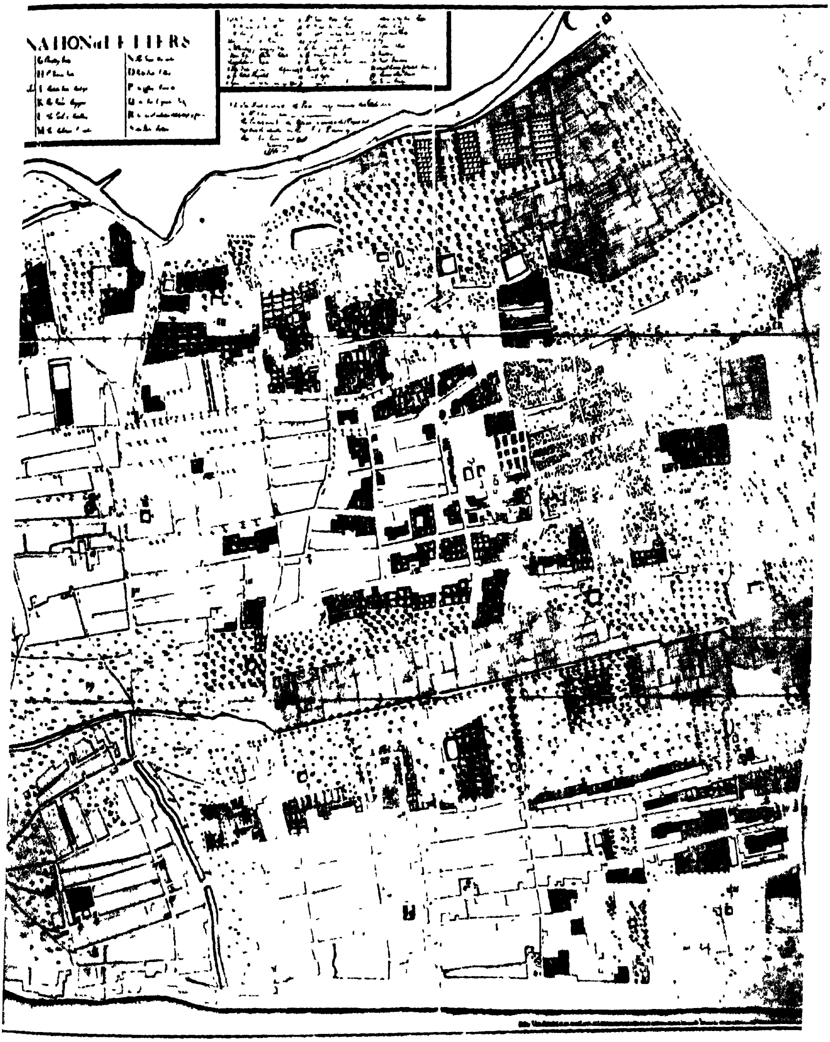


of the Island Ground, the filling up of the old course of the North River now diverted, the demolished part of the Old Black Town, the Esplanade between the Old Black Town and Muthialpetta and the existence of several garden-houses in Triplicane and the adjoining area. In the Fort itself, the old Catholic Church of St. Andrews had disappeared, while the Sea-Gate Colonnade, resting on four rows of fine blackstone pillars was missing, the pillars having been taken away by the French.

Governor Pigot and the rebuilding of the Fort.

Lord Pigot was twice Governor of Madras, for the first time as simple Mr. George Pigot between 1755 and 1763 and on the second occasion from December 1775, his second tenure ending very tragically, as will be read in the sequel. His first term of Governorship was marked by the rebuilding of Fort St. George according to the plans of Robins annd his successors. He was mainly responsible for the rebuilding work; and it is to his credit that he anticipated a French attack and pushed on very rapidly the strengthening works of the place.

Brohier who succeeded Scott as Engineer, put forward a new plan of three small bastions of the west front of the Fort and of the fortification of the *pettahs* in the manner indicated in Conradi's map. The southernmost of the three western bastions was finished in 1756 and was afterwards called the Nabob's Bastion in honour of Nawab Muhammad Ali. The other two were named, respectively, after Major Lawrence and Pigot himself. By February 1757, the western front was considered defensible. The rising ground which faced the Fort on the northern bank of the North River was demolished in order that room might be secured for the ramparts and the glacis on the west. This ground (long-known as Hog-hill) was finally and completely levelled only after several years by the direction of General Sir

the river, the wet-ditch planned for the extended western face of the Fort and the new alignment of the river are very markedly shown, as also the various islets formed near the mouth of the Cooum and the sand-bar which is thrown across its mouth for the greater part of the year by the surf-driven sand.

Eyre Coote in the course of the operations of the Second Mysore War. Brohier went away to Calcutta in 1757 to lay out the plan of the new Fort William at that place. A new engineer, Mr. Call, succeeded him at Madras and continued his work. It should be noted in this connection that the old pagoda known as the Town Temple,* which stood in the middle of Old Black Town and which had been spared while the surrounding houses had been demolished during the French occupation, was pulled down in 1757; and its bricks, stones and debris were used in building the north face of the Fort. Call also pulled down the outworks of the pettahs and utilised their material for a similar purpose. The construction work was carried on very briskly in the latter part of 1757 and in the first months of the following year. As many as 10,000 labourers were employed daily and Pigot himself personally superintended the operations, standing out in the sun for a number of hours in the day. All this work was done post-haste on account of the threatened war with France, rumours of whose outbreak had reached Madras early in 1757. The enlarged fort, as it was shaped by the work of Call, has been pictured for us in a coloured plan of Conradi and showing the ground reclaimed by the diversion of the river, the new enveloping north front with its Royal and Demi-bastions, the three faces of the west front, the extension of the ditch completely round the fort, the covered way and the glacis stretching all round the fortifications from sea to sea and the ravelins and the curtains.

Call thus hastened the completion of his plans which were almost complete on the eve of Lally's siege of the Fort (December

* Compensation was given by Government and a new site was offered in China Bazaar, of 21,000 sq. ft. in 1756. Manali Muthukrishna Mudali who was Governor Pigot's Dubash about 1760, built the new temple also known as the Town Temple, partly with his own funds and partly with subscriptions collected from the inhabitants and the compensation paid by Government. He became the first warden (trustee) of the temple and since his death in 1[illegible]2 the management of the temple has remained in his family. The temple contains the same old twin shrines of Chenna Kesavaperumal and Chennai Malleswara.

1758—February 1759). After the siege was over, he proposed to strengthen the east front and to effect various alterations in the north face. Even on the eve of Lally's siege the existing northern portion of Old Black Town had been demolished; and the house-owners who were evicted, were compensated, as in the case of the Town Temple, by being given plots of building-ground elsewhere.

The siege of Madras by Lally

Lally's siege is the next great land-mark. Lally advanced impetuously and precipitately after his unsuccessful attack on Tanjore and reached Vandalur at the head of a large body of 3,000 Europeans, horse and foot and of a slightly larger number of Indian troops, on December 6, 1758. Major Lawrence who was in command, had to abandon the advance-post of Egmore Redoubt, while Lally occupied the new Government Garden-House (acquired on the south bank of the Cooum in 1753), pushed on to Black Town and attacked the north front of the fortress. There were only small bodies of troops to guard the approaches to Black Town, which was consequently abandoned. The French erected several batteries all round the Fort and opened a severe cannonade from these. But the investment was not very close and the English shells had good effect upon the enemy batteries; moreover the English had the advantage of communication by sea and made frequent sallies. Every morning the bombardment of the French commenced regularly at day-break and the fire was always vigorously returned. Nawab Muhammad Ali and his family had taken shelter in the Fort for safety; and since they were troublesome and his followers were too numerous to feed, they were sent away in a Dutch vessel to Negapatam. Lally had erected a powerful battery of six guns near the present Parry's Corner; and from it he advanced along the east of the glacis where he opened a breaching battery; but his spirit was depressed and his treasure was low. An English fleet was descried off the coast on the 16th February 1759 and it anchored in the roads the same evening. Immediately afterwards the French raised the siege and

retreated towards St. Thomas' Mount. On the 17th, English soldiers landed from the ships and the Fort was once more secure. The defence had been very stubborn and the besieged had always returned shot for shot and patiently repaired every break in the walls as soon as it was made.

The siege lasted for 67 days, and for 46 days the enemy kept up a vigorous shell-fire. Their attack was mainly directed from the north, as the crowded houses of Black Town afforded them shelter from the fire of the Fort. In course of time they advanced to the crest of the north glacis, where they erected a battery. The chief actions of significance during the siege operations were (1) Draper's engagement in Peddanaickenpettah in the Black Town (in China Bazaar Road) on December 14; and (2) Caillaud's battle near St. Thomas' Mount on February 9. Throughout the siege, Yusuf Khan, the commandant of the British sepoys, proved to be of great service by distracting the movements of the enemy. We now know that even before the English fleet arrived on the coast, Lally had resolved to raise the siege. The arrival of the fleet only hastened the retreat and "doubtless saved Black Town from destruction" as the enemy had resolved to burn it in despair of success. In his retreat Lally destroyed the powder-mills in Egmore, but left the Black Town intact. The relief of the English was celebrated with great *eclat* on March 23, 1759. The hero of the siege was certainly the noble-minded General Lawrence, the friend and guide of Clive, the protector of Nawab Muhammad Ali and the creator of the Madras Army who was certainly worthy of his monument in the Westminster. But Pigot was of no less value. He was an old veteran servant of the Company, having been taken prisoner by the French in their capture of Madras in 1746. His first Governorship was a momentous epoch and saw the final triumph of the English in Bengal, the great fame to which Clive attained, the successful resistance of Madras against Lally and the resounding victories of Sir Eyre Coote, ending with the capture of Pondicherry in January 1761. Now Governor Pigot and his Council had vigorously helped in the carrying out of

everyone of these things; and the way in which they were carried out had stamped their impress on the Madras Government. Pigot advocated the complete destruction of Pondicherry after its capture, as a measure of retaliation for Lally's conduct. Pigot especially resented Lally's destruction of the private houses in the suburbs of Madras and particularly of the country houses at the Mount.

The heroes of the siege—Lawrence and Pigot

The Fort was a sad wreck after the siege. All the houses in it on the north and north-east sides had been severely shelled. Even the Fort House in the middle had been unroofed, but the Church of St. Mary's being bomb-proof was not seriously injured. Black Town, as in the previous case of Lally's attack, was left unprotected and had been ruthlessly plundered by the enemy who also burnt the village of Chepauk to the south of the mouth of Cooum between the Island and Triplicane. After the siege, the Directors resolved that the Fort should be renovated. Work was begun in 1760; but at first it proceeded very slowly. Call who had been Chief Engineer during the critical days of the siege, advised the permanent fortification of Black Town (as Muthialpettah and Peddanaickenpettah together came to be called after the demolition of Old Black Town).

One consequence of the siege was the organisation of the sepoys into regular battalions. There was to be a sepoy force of seven battalions of 1,000 men each battalion to have, besides its European officers, one Indian commandant. Two of these battalions were to be stationed at Madras, one at Chingleput as the outpost of the city and the remaining four at Conjeevaram and at Trichinopoly. Each battalion was divided into nine Companies, of which one was styled as the Grenadier Company, composed of picked men. This was the nucleus organisation of the sepoy section of the Madras Army.

The formation of the sepoy army

The Pedda Nayak (or the Poligar) of Madras, having died during the siege, Government resolved to suspend his office, to confiscate its emoluments and to carry on his duties by means

of regular bodies of sepoy-guards stationed in Black Town, in the place of the watchmen of the Nayak. But the new plan did not last long.

A peculiar result flowing from the siege was the almost complete demolition of the tombs of the old English burial-ground situated in Old Black Town. Many of the inscribed stones set upon the tombs were removed to St. Mary's Church in the Fort, where they now form the pavement of the yard. It was now that the north-west portion of the Island was given as the Cemetery of St. Mary's Church. The residential buildings along the sea face of the Fort were also cut up very badly; and Call planned to take advantage of their condition to improve the east front. He built a rampart for the east front also containing casemates for accommodating men and store-rooms. For several years after the siege the work of reconstruction went on.

Further strenghening and reshaping of the Fort

The further enlargement of the Fort in this epoch may now be referred to. Call was in office till 1770. He had hastened the completion of his plans even on the eve of Lally's siege. After the siege was over Call proposed to improve the east front and to effect various improvements in the north face. The west and south fronts also claimed immediate attention. particularly the Lawrence and Pigot Bastions. In 1765 Government proposed extensive alterations to the fortifications; they planned a five-years' programme of building in 1767, and appointed Benfield, an assistant of Call, to be the Engineer of Madras. The latter finished the reconstruction of the Royal and Demi-Bastions, the rivetment of the *faussebraye* on the north front and the enlargement of the north ravelin. He became the contractor for the building of the walls of New Black Town which extended for 3½ miles along the northern and western bounds of the Pettahs and finished his work by the end of 1772. Call insisted, even on the eve of his retirement in 1770, on the improvement of the west part of the Fort in the shape of a

complete reconstruction of the Pigot and Lawrence Bestions and the enlargement of the ravelin between them.

The Fort a semi-octagon

In 1771, the work of further remodelling was taken seriously in hand. Barracks were built where old houses formerly stood. Many of the inhabitants sold their houses and went to live outside. The work of construction was placed in the charge of Colonel Patrick Ross who succeeded Call as Chief Engineer and who gave the Fort its final form and ultimate completion. He proposed a complete change of the trace, reduced the three faces on the west front to two and converted the shape of the Fortress from a half decagon into a semi-octagon.

Thus a single large bastion, called St. George's was substituted for the two bastions known as Pigot's and Lawrence's Bastions. The Nawab's bastion on the south-west was greatly strengthened and the small St. Thomas's Bastion at the south-east corner was converted into a large demi-bastion. Strong ravelins (outworks of two faces meeting in a salient angle) were constructed before the curtains, each flanked by lunettes (works of two faces meeting at a salient). A wet ditch was dug round the *enceinte* and also round the ravelins and their lunettes. The sea-front was rebuilt with indentations to afford flanking fire. A counterguard (a narrow outwork before a bastion to prevent its wall being breached) was erected before the demi-bastion on the north-east and another before that of the south-east. The main work was case-mated throughout and cisterns were built under the sea-wall to hold a water supply for 6.000 men for four months.

The enlarged Fort

The entire area of the Fort and its outworks to the foot of the glacis is well over 100 acres and the interior of the *enceinte* encloses about 42 acres and measures 620 yards from north to south and 330 yards from east to west. 22 lakhs of rupees are said to have been spent on the works between 1752 and 1761 and 52 lakhs of rupees between 1772 and 1783 when the reconstruction of the Fort was complete.

As already noted, the bastions and curtains of the Fort were built with bomb-proof casemates beneath, for the accommodation of troops and stores. For a number of years troops were quartered in the curtains of the west front.*

Hyder's first raid (1767)

The building of the Black Town walls is the next great improvement in the city. A new enemy arose against the English in the shape of Hyder Ali of Mysore, who first invaded the Carnatic in 1767 and contrived to send a party of cavalry, under his son Tipu Sultan, to make a raid on Madras. The enemy troops plundered San Thomé and the neighbouring villages and even threatened the Garden-House of the Governor—the present Government House. The panic in the city was very great, though there were not more than 3,000 or 4,000 of the enemy horse in the field. According to one contemporary authority, Nawab Muhammad Ali and his son, the Governor, Mr. Bourchier, Engineer Call and almost all the members of the Council were in imminent danger of being captured by the enemy, when they were resting in a sense of comparative security in the Garden-House, and they only narrowly escaped in a small vessel that lay handy to them in the river.

His second raid (1769)

After this raid of 1767, Hyder threatened Madras once again in order to force his own terms on the timid English. This was early in 1769. Hyder cleverly eluded the English Commander, made a forced march on St. Thomas' Mount with 6,000 of his boldest cavalry, plundered San Thomé and the neighbouring villages and then held out to the English Council the terms of a settle-

* The outworks on the south front were levelled about seventy years ago to provide a site for the Military Hospital. All the outworks excepting the ravelins on the other fronts were also demolished at the same time. The construction of new gates to the new Legislative Council Buildings on both the sides of the old Sea-Gate and the partial filling up of the ditch on the east front which has been going on are the most recent changes in the outer appearance of the Fort which has been further altered in view by the closing of the gateways on the northern and southern fronts and by the erection of the wireless plant on the northern glacis, as well as the building of the new Legislative Council chambers to the east of the old Secretariat.

ment. The Council agreed to his terms, being conscious that they had no proper cavalry and that the city was provisioned only for 15 days. It was a time of real terror to Madras and the neighbourhood from which people came pouring in numbers into Black Town.

Both before and after Hyder's raids, attempts were made to further strengthen both the Fort and the defences of Black Town. The work of fortification of Black Town on the northern and western sides by means of a well-equipped rampart was actively begun in 1769. The rampart, as constructed, covered the northern and western fronts of the modern George Town and a portion of the southern line as well. It had a course of three and a half miles and was equipped with flanking works at intervals and with a glacis on the outside.

The Town Wall The Wall-Tax Road

The wall consisted of 17 bastions connected with curtains averaging 300 yards in length. The north wall presented a slightly convex front towards Tondiarpet. The west wall ran on straight, close to the North River. On the outside of the rampart on the north and west, the ground was cleared for a width of 600 yards to afford a field for fire; these spaces were known as esplanades. The southern part of the western esplanade was converted, in the middle of the 19th century, into People's Park. There were numerous gateways in the wall. The principal gates were, the Pully Gate at the northern end of Thambu Chetty Street, the Tiruvottiyur Gate near the Monegar Choultry, the Ennore Gate near the northern end of the present Mint Street, the Elephant Gate whose name is still preserved for the site on which it stood; the Chuckler's Gate at the western exit of the present Rasappa Chetty Street and the Hospital Gate at the south-western corner near the present entrance to the General Hospital. It was at first decided that, in order to have free and easy communications on the inside of the ramparts, there should be a clear space of at least 50 feet abroad. It was also designed to have a good road running along this space which might be kept in repair by any one who would have as his

reward the grant of the ground for the space of 20 feet out of the 50, furthest from the ramparts with right to cultivate or plant cocoanut and other fruit trees and enjoy the produce thereof. Government then wanted to have a road made by means of a tax, but dropped the proposal on account of legal difficulties that arose. "Wall-tax keeps alive the memory of a tax that was never collected," for which even an officer, known as the Collector of the Town Wall-tax, was appointed. It is said also that the arches in the western ramparts were occupied by Indians who paid a rent or tax and hence arose the name Wall-Tax Road for the street which runs for two miles and was close to the western wall.

Debtor prisoners were confined in the bastions in the north western angle of the wall while criminals were put in another bastion in the northern wall and even to-day, the street next to the demolished north wall is called the Old Jail Street. The wall was pulled down about the middle of the 19th century; but portions of some of its front bastions and curtains on the north section are even now well preserved.

The wall was built very solidly by Paul Benfield, the Company's Engineer, who resigned his office in order to become contractor for this work. Benfield was also the contractor for the building of the west front of the Fort. His engineering record was good, though his financial transactions with Nawab Wallajah and the part that he played in the arrest of Governor Pigot in 1777 brought on him great obloquy which was intensified by the eloquence of Burke's invectives against him. His name is still alive in Madras, being given to the Esplanade Road of the Fort on the west front; and the west front of the Fort itself is "a standing monument of the soundness of his work as a Contractor."

The Four Governors after Pigot (1762-75)

There were a series of mediocre Governors after Pigot who would have done well in the olden days, but who were unable to cope with the serious military and political problems that

confronted the British power. Pigot was followed by Robert Palk, who came out as Chaplain to the station, but afterwards gave up his holy orders and became merchant instead. He was followed by Bourchier in 1767, by Du Pre in 1770, and by Alexander Wynch (1773). All these four men found the problems of government beyond their strength. Bourchier and Du Pre were impotent eye-witnesses to Hyder's raids and dictation. Wynch was corrupt enough to countenance all the extraordinary demands made by the Nawab on the wealthy Rajah of Tanjore and allowed the kingdom to be handed over unblushingly by the Company's troops to the Nawab. It was now time for the Directors to interfere and they chose to reappoint to the Governorship their old and trusted servant, Pigot, who had meanwhile secured great political influence and an Irish peerage. The second Governorship of Pigot was, as we shall see, to completely belie all the expectations that had been formed of his capacity and straight-forwardness and to make him sink to the level of his compeers. Pigot's tragic end will be related in the next chapter.

Pigot's second term

Nawab Muhammad Ali desired, as early as 1764, on account of the security it afforded, to have a permanent residence for himself in Madras. At first the plan was to have a palace built for him in the Fort area—the idea being still kept up in the name of Palace Street, given to the principal thoroughfare of the new portion of the Fort. The plan was abandoned on account of its prospective inconveniences. In 1767 the Nawab acquired houses in Chepauk and added to them a vacant spot of sandy ground on the north and east. On these spots the Chepauk Palace was erected, probably in 1768. It consisted of two blocks—the southern Kalsa Mahal of two floors and the northern building known as the Humayun Mahal and containing the Diwan Khana. A wall was built round the whole area which covered 117 acres and extended from the Cooum to Pycroft's Road. The fortunes of the Palace will be detailed later.

The Chepauk Palace (1768)

XIV

GOVERNOR PIGOT AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS (1775-1803)

The City about 1775

WHEN Pigot became Governor for the second time, the city of Madras had revived in prosperity; but the Government of the Presidency had fallen into disrepute. His predecessors in the Governorship, Du Pre and Wynch, carried out an immense improvement, as already noted, in the fortifications of the city. The Fort now came to have a good and ample supply of water; while the construction of garden-houses on both sides on the Mount Road and in Egmore went on apace. It was now that Warren Hastings, the future Governor-General, served in Madras for nearly three years as a Member of the Council. Hastings was the Second Member and Export Warehouse-keeper, and took a prominent part as a Member of the Select Committee and of the Committee of Works. Hastings did much to develop the city of Madras and is regarded as the first person to suggest that the port should be provided with a pier whch was to be projected into the sea beyond the surf and from which boats might take their goods and passengers or else deposit them without being exposed to the surf. Hastings wrote that the surf at Margate was as great as on the Madras coast and the Margate pier might very well be adopted for this city. His brother-in-law to whom he made this project, consulted the surveyor of Ramsgate and sent plans of the harbour at that port, recommending the sinking of caissons supported by piling. Unfortunately, the suggestion of Hastings was not acted upon. In fact, it was only after 1860, that the first pier came to be built at Madras.

Warren Hastings at Madras (1769-1772)

Disappearance of the office of Chief Merchant

Hastings abolished the offices of the Company's Merchants, appointed *gumastahs* to tour through the country and personally made advances to the weavers, without any middlemen in the shape of merchants. The last important Chief Mer-

chant of the Company was Manali Muthukrishna Mudali who was the Dubash of Governor Pigot and the builder of the new Town Temple. The long line of distinguished Indians who occupied this office from the time of Beri Timmappa and Seshadri Nayak down to Manali Muthukrishna Mudali, now became officially extinct. An old and picturesque institution which rendered valuable services to the city and its growth thus vanished; and with it disappeared one of the principal landmarks of the civic organisation of Old Madras.

The Board of Police

A Board of Police was also instituted for the city of Madras of which the Governor was the President. It took charge of the pavements of the streets in the Fort and attempted to dispose of all undesirable stray dogs. It also erected public lamps in front of all the houses and buildings of the Fort. Markets also were put in its purview; and in the matter of the supply of fresh fish the Board took great trouble in securing a sufficient quantity. The Board was to be assisted by a committee of five inhabitants. It fixed the rates of wages and rules for the conduct of the different kinds of domestic servants usually employed in the European households. A guarantee for the good conduct of these servants was to be taken from the heads of the castes to which they respectively belonged; and one month's notice had to be given on either side. The Board projected the erection of a market on the beach to the southward of the Fort, with three separate sheds for flesh, for fish and for greens, fruits and other articles of provisions respectively. After a year of functioning the Board was dissolved on account of a number of difficulties it had to encounter.

The difficulties of Government were exaggerated by the differences of Governor and Council with Nawab Wallajah on whose behalf influential persons persuaded the British Government in London to send a Minister Plenipotentiary on two occasions. These Ministers quarrelled very vigorously with the Madras Government from whose views they entirely

differed in all matters that pertained to the Nawab. There were, again, differences with the Marathas and Hyder Ali with whom an open war alone would have pleased the Nawab. The Chepauk Palace became a centre of intrigue against the Governor in Council. In addition to these troubles, there were differences between the Governor and the Nawab over the spoliation of the Tanjore Raj which the latter very much desired. Above all, corruption was rampant in all grades of the service.

Events leading to the second Governorship of Pigot (1775)

In the time of Governor Du Pre, Hyder Ali dictated terms of peace from St. Thomas' Mount to the Governor and Council. The English officials rendered themselves liable to severe condemnation on account of the corruption which they countenanced or indulged in. Military men raised regiments by contracts; civil servants took contracts for buildings and appointments were openly bought and sold; while the Nawab was very extravagant, borrowed money freely and at usurious rates of interest and pledged the revenues of his dominions in anticipation. In the time of Governor Wynch (1773-75), Tanjore which was under the rule of a Maratha family, was unblushingly handed over by the Company's troops to the Nawab who had claims to arrears of tribute from that kingdom. The Directors thought that it was high time for them to interfere. They recalled Wynch and sent over Pigot to be the Governor for the second time. Pigot did not realise the changes that had crept in since nor that corruption was so rife. The principal officials were all strangers to him; and there was bitter rivalry between the officers of the King's Regiments which were lent to the Company and those of the latter's own troops. The former officers resented the authority of the Governor and Council in their conduct of military affairs.

Pigot and the Nawab

The main object of Lord Pigot's reappointment to the Governorship of Madras in 1775 was the restoration of the kingdom of Tanjore to its dispossessed Raja. It was in 1773 that Tanjore was taken by force of arms for the Nawab of the Carnatic while

the Raja and his family were kept in prisoners in their fort. The Government of the Presidency declared that the Raja of Tanjore "held his lands of the Nabob in fee," which had been all along the claim on that kingdom put forward by the Nawab, Muhammad Ali. The reason of the Madras Government's action is clearly seen from its resolution, dated 22nd June 1773, that "it was dangerous, in the present system, to have such a power as the Raja of Tanjore in the heart of the Carnatic"; and that it was "expedient, for the safety of the Carnatic and the Company's possessions, that the Raja of Tanjore should be reduced."

Pigot and Tanjore

Early in 1775, the Court of Directors appointed Mr. Rumbold, (later Sir Thomas), by a small majority, to the Governorship of Madras, which was to fall vacant shortly. But a Court of Proprietors which was summoned to review the appointment, reversed the previous decision by another equally small majority and appointed Lord Pigot who, since he retired from the Governorship in 1763, had contrived to become a Baronet and an Irish Peer. He enjoyed great influence with the Directors; and we learn from James Mill that he desired "to rival the glory of Clive by introducing the same reforms under the Presidency of Madras, as that illustrious Governor had introduced in Bengal." Pigot was from the first decided in his mind that he should effect the restoration of the Raja of Tanjore as he had, during his former Governorship, assured him his possession of the throne. Mill would not exonerate him completely from animation by unworthy motives in such a desire. Pigot's favourite Dubash, Manali Muthukrishna Mudali, who had rebuilt the Madras Town Temple and became its warden, and for whom he continued to experience a partiality, had rented a considerable area of lands from the Tanjore Raj; moreover, Pigot had been offended with Nawab Muhammad Ali, who first appointed him his agent in England, but "failed in those remittances which made the place of agent desirable." Again, there existed at the time an active bid between the Nawab and the Raja for securing the favour of the most influential servants

against the administration, but consented to serve under the new Governor till the pleasure of the Company should be known. Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of Bengal, resolved to support the majority and Stratton. But the Supreme Court of Calcutta wisely declined to commit itself when asked give an opinion. The Directors discussed the subject at two General Courts of Proprietors in which they condemned the arrest and imprisonment of Pigot and directed his release and restoration to the Governorship. They also ordered the suspension and return to England of the offending majority, and directed an inquiry to be held on the question whether Pigot or any of his Council had accepted gifts from the Nawab or the Raja of Tanjore, and whether the Nawab had in any way helped to procure Pigot's arrest. The House of Commons addressed the Crown for the prosecution of the usurping majority of the Council. Pigot died in imprisonment after some illness on the 11th May 1777. The inquest over his death resulted in a verdict of wilful murder against Stratton, Fletcher and others of the majority. Stratton was suspended and his place was taken up by Mr. Whitehill. The case against Stratton and his

Governors Stratton and Whitehill (1776-1778)

accomplices was then conducted at the Quarter-Sessions of Madras. Stratton and the Members of the majority made a defence of themselves; Stuart put in a plea that he merely carried out the orders of Fletcher, the Commander-in-Chief. At last, the Supreme Court of Calcutta to whom the matter was referred, decided that the inquest over Pigot's death was not a legitimately conducted one and the materials for the inquest were insufficient either for a charge of murder or for one of manslaughter. Accordingly Stratton and other prisoners were released. Later, in England, Stratton and three of the Councillors were convicted of misdemeanour and fined £1,000 each. And the Directors ordered the court-martial of Stuart and his offending brother-officers; but the Commander-in-Chief held that Stuart had committed no military offence.

The Big Paracheri

The progress in the growth of the city was somewhat slow during the troubled days of the usurpation of Stratton. Only about half the number of workmen were employed in the building of the walls of the Black Town and the Fort. There was also trouble given by some of the castes, particularly, the community known as the *Pariahs* who claimed as their own ground what is now known as the Great Paracheri, which was given originally to a merchant, Narayanan, by order of Governor Hastings. The community also claimed the right of exemption from taxes, particularly the scavenging duty and the quit-rent.

The Mullah and the Kazi of Madras

The Muhammadan community claimed special recognition about this time. They demanded the official recognition of the Kazi of Madras, saying that a *cowle* had been granted as early as 1694 to a particular Mussalman by the President and Council. It was now decided by the Choultry Court that the office of Mullah was distinct from that of the Kazi and the latter person might officiate as Mullah either in person or by deputy. The Mullah's office was held to go back to 1694. The claimants to these two offices declared that they had obtained sanads from Nasir Jang and also from Nawab Wallajah.

The creation of the Standing Counsel

An office of great judicial importance was now created in 1778, partly as a consequence of the inquiry over the death of Governor Pigot. This was that of the Standing Counsel or Government Advocate, who was consulted by Governor Whitehill on the legal aspect of the verdict of the Coroner's inquiry on the death; and Mr. Benjamin Sullivan, who was then the only person at the settlement "educated regularly as a barrister" was appointed Standing Counsel. This office has continued to the present day in the form of the Advocate-Generalship.

Sir Thomas Rumbold, Governor (1778-1780)

Sir Thomas Rumbold who took charge of the Governorship from Whitehill, was in power for just over two years; and he

was followed by Whitehill again and, after the latter's suspension within a few months, by another temporary incumbent, Charles Smith, who held the reins of office till Lord Macartney became the Governor in June 1781.

Rumbold was not strong enough for the times. He was accused of several charges which proved to be false on further investigation. According to one writer, he was "weak rather than unfaithful in his trust, unwise but not dishonest." At last Warren Hastings, the Governor General, lost all patience with him and had him removed from the Governorship.

Lord Macartney (1781-1785).

Macartney was fortunate enough to leave his impress upon the Presidency of Madras. He was helpful in guiding the war with Mysore to a safe termination, unlike, Rumbold and Whitehill. News of the declaration of war in 1780 between England and France led to the further strengthening of the fortifications, particularly on the south and east fronts of the Fort. It was in Macartney's time that Sir Eyre Coote, the hero of Wandiwash and Pondicherry, saved the Presidency from destruction at Hyder's hands, but died of exhaustion in Madras. Coote was buried in the settlement though, later, his body was sent to England. His burial is registered in the records of St. Mary's Church.

Improvements in Black Town

It was in Macartney's time that George Town assumed the shape that it now has. We saw how the old Black Town was abandoned and the inhabitants were removed to Muthialpettah and Peddanaickenpettah which together came to be known as the new Black Town. There was a low-lying region between these two Pettahs known as Attapallam. Along this ran a drainage channel which emptied itself into the North River. This channel was on the alignment, more or less roughly, of the present Broadway. When the city came to be crowded, Mr. Stephen Popham who originally came out as Secretary to the Advocate-General of Bengal and later settled in Madras as a solicitor,

reclaimed and developed this waste land, dug a channel and cross drains, raised its level and gradually built over the whole area. The main north and south street which traverses this area is known even now—though only euphemistically correctly—as Popham's Broadway. The channel that ran along it was later covered in; but its continuation as a paved open canal across the Esplanade may still be seen. The depression of Attapallam is even now obvious to the eye as both Muthialpettah and Peddanaickenpettah gradually sink in level when approaching Broadway which becomes a vast sheet of water with a good downpour of rain.

In the south-eastern portion of Peddanaickenpettah was a high ground known as Hog-hill (*Narimēdu*). On this, houses were built right down to the bank of the North River. It was the site which was once marked out as the likely ground for a new Fort, in the event of the old one being washed away by the sea as was feared. Sir Eyre Coote, Commander-in-Chief at the time, was anxious that this high ground should be levelled for the sake of the greater safety of the Fort. Accordingly, in 1781 the house-owners of Hog-hill were with great difficulty removed and compensated elsewhere with lots of building land. The hill itself was cleared and levelled and part of the earth was transported to Popham's ground and filled in Mannady Street which thus got its name (*lit.* accumulation of mud). The removal of Hog-hill and its buildings accounts for the present curiously broken outline of Peddanaickenpettah on its south east side and the abrupt termination of some of its north and south streets. The cleared ground was converted into the Esplanade of the Fort and is now covered by the Ordnance Lines.

Popham's scheme of Police regulation

Mr. Popham was a very enterprising, though eccentric, man. He submitted a plan in 1782 for the establishment of a regular police for Madras and for the regulation of the city, in which were comprehended many matters which would now be regarded as purely municipal in their nature. Among others,

he advocated the building of direct and cross drains in every street to carry off water, the naming and lighting of streets, the regular registration of births and deaths and the licensing of liquor, arrack and toddy shops; as well as the creation of a body of policemen with a central police office and several watch-houses in the different parts of the town.

The Police were to have regular lists of the inhabitants of every street with their trades and also of the shops with the shop-keepers, names marked over the doors. All carriages and animals used for drawing them, as well as all carriage animals, were also to be registered. Complaints about servants for insolence or misbehaviour, the regulation of their wages, the prices of cooly-hire and the like were to be settled by the head of the police. Fuel and grass for animals were to be provided for so that the market would never suffer any scarcity in these articles. A tax was to be levied on property for defraying the expenses of these improvements as an annual rate not exceeding one per cent.

Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor (1786-1790).

This plan of Popham was seriously taken up by the Government of Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor, in whose time the administration came to be divided into departments, each under a board of officers, like the Military Board, the Board of Revenue, the Board of Trade and the Hospital Board. Sir Archibald formed a Committee of Police for the regulation of wages and prices, consequent upon Popham renewing his plan, and empowered it to regulate the wages of servants, prices of provisions in the markets and also to preserve cleanliness in the Black Town. Popham himself was appointed Secretary to this Committee of Regulation as it was called. This Committee was short-lived and ultimately superseded by a Board of Police.

The Kotwal of Markets

A Board of Police was first constituted in 1770 consisting of the Governor and Council who were to meet twice every week for this purpose. The Board concerned itself with the paving of the streets

in the Fort and the setting up lamp-posts in them. It also planned to erect a public market on the beach to the south of the Fort and to make arrangements for the settlement of small disputes among Indians. The Directors of the Company abolished this Board on the ground that it clashed with the Mayor's Court and further it was not authorised by the charter. In 1777 one Veeraperumal was appointed to be the *Kotwal* or Overseer of Markets. Three years later, a regular Superintendent of Police was appointed to inspect the bazaars and fix the prices. The condition of the Black Town had become a public scandal. The streets were very unwholesome and it was repeatedly urged to have them cleared and levelled and regularly cleaned daily. But the difficulty was that of finance. A quit rent and scavenger's duty, as we saw above, formed even in the 18th century a thorny problem for Government. The Supreme Court of Calcutta to whom the question of their legality was referred, decided that the Company had no power to impose these taxes. Lord Macartney thereupon assembled the principal inhabitants of the Black Town and tried to persuade them into paying these taxes. It was now that a contract was entered into by Government with some private persons that they should level and clear the streets of filth and carry it away daily in bullock carts in return for a fixed annual sum; and a civil servant of the Company was entrusted, as before, with the collection of the conservancy tax and the control of the conservancy establishment. Soon after, there came the Committee of Regulation of which Popham was the Secretary. It fell into desuetude and was abolished practically by 1791. A Parliamentary Act of 1792 finally gave the power to the Company to levy municipal taxes; and it was resolved to order an assessment of 5% to be collected from the inhabitants on the estimated annual rents of their houses. It was now that the town-cleansing was entrusted to two officers known as Surveyors and Collectors under whom conservancy work was to be done by contract. Filth was to be removed from every street at least twice a week.

Power to levy municipal taxes (1792)

For a long time the house-holders of the city evaded paying the assessment regularly and it was complained that cess-pools were not regularly maintained in the front of the houses.

Beginning of the modern City Police Force

In 1797 a regular Police scheme was instituted and a Committee of Police was organised, including a Clerk of the Market, a Kotwal and an assistant and from this date the modern Police organisation of the City may be said to begin.

The services of Popham to Madras

Mr. Popham who designed the Plan of Police, was a very pertinacious and tireless worker; he was Government Solicitor; but besides that office, he had rendered to Madras a number of important public services, which may be here enumerated. He takes credit for "advising the removal of Hoghill; declining a salary from the Nawab; making an offer to raise a force for the protection of Black Town against Hyder, 'but when I carried it to Mr. Whitehill the Governor, as he was going into Council, his reception of me and of my Letter was so disgustingly cool that I was obliged to drop the matter'; offering to raise a military corps at the time the French fleet appeared, when he received the thanks of Government; furnishing provisions and transport for Chingleput; fitting out a packet at his own expense to maintain communication with Sir Eyre Coote at Cuddalore, and soothing the jealousy of the King's troops when Ross Lang was appointed Commander-in-Chief. In enumerating these services, Popham says that his aim was to vindicate himself from a slander that his Plan of Police was designed for his own aggrandizement, and remarks that the scheme is neither the better nor worse for his being 'the Proprietor of that Central Spot of Ground which must be the Site of the Public Market.' Popham indicates in a letter quoted below,* the various ills to which a citizen of Madras was in those days subject. We gather

* "Was the Bound Hedge finished, no man could desert, No Spy could pass; and it is a notorious fact that during the late War the Black Town swarmed with, and is still supposed to harbour, Spies in

from it a matter-of-fact picture of the evils that beset Madras at the time.

The Madras Observatory

Sir Archibald Campbell's Governorship inaugurated a period of comparative quiet for the City and the Presidency. His rule was noted for the development of peaceful institutions. Campbell, besides forming a Committee of Police for the regulation of wages and prices, founded an Astronomical Observatory at Nungambakam. The Observatory was erected in 1793 under instructions from the Court of Directors for "promoting the knowledge of Astronomy and Navigation in India." Even before that date, there was a proposal to provide a permanent observatory for the accommodation of the Company's astronomical instruments. Sir Archibald had ordered an astronomical survey in 1786 and engaged a scientist to fix the latitudes and longitudes of the stations on the coast. Mr. Goldingham who assisted this scientist, worked at a private observatory built by Mr. W. Petrie, a Civil Servant of the Company who had erected it at his own expense. Goldingham was the first Government Astronomer and held that office for nearly 40 years. In 1847 a permanent

the service of European as well as Asiatic Powers. Provisions would be Cheap. All the Garden Houses, as well as 33 square miles of ground (of the city and its suburbs) would be in security from the incursions of irregular Horse......As to the advantages of Ease and Comfort to the European Inhabitants, they would be infinite. Provisions would be Cheaper, Robberies much less frequent, Impositions of all sorts prevented, and health promoted. The medical Gentlemen will, I believe, acknowledge that many a Junior Servant, both in the Civil and Military Line, has owed his Fate as much to the confined and unwholesome Situation of his place of abode in the Black Town as to the malignancy of the disorder......

The Dubashes of Justices meet with more Homage than the Justices themselves (or than any other Persons whomsoever in the Settlement, except the Dubashes of some of the Attornies of the Mayor's Court), and......those same Dubashes exercise their Power for the most oppressive, illegal and unjustifiable purposes......It has been said that my Plan is too extensive. Is the extirpation of Dubashism such a Hydra of Labour that the idea should affright us? The community wish for the Reform, and by their zeal the harder of this Herculean task will be overcome. The cordial support of Government will complete the work."

Observatory was erected to the eastward of the Astronomical Observatory. This Observatory gives Madras or standard time to the greater part of India for railway and other purposes.

Governor Campbell is also to be credited with having improved the postal service and created an Asylum for the orphan children of European soldiers. A separate Medical Department was constituted for Madras in 1786 under the control of a Physician-General who was to act also as the Director of Hospitals. The Madras Post Office was started in the same year as a Government concern and it was arranged that all letters were to pay postage at the rate of one *fanam* for a single letter for every 100 miles. A Charity School was also organised for maintaining and educating the orphan children of soldiers and other Europeans under a famous teacher, the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell,* who was noted for having inaugurated the monitorial system of instruction, known for long as the Madras System of Education.

The first Botanical Garden

It was also at this time that the noted Dr. Anderson of Natural Science fame suggested the encouragement of mulberry cultivation to the Government and turned their attention to sericulture, and to the securing of silkworms' eggs from Bengal. He suggested the adaptation of the Female Orphan Asylum to

* Dr. Bell was associated with the establishment of the Male Orphan Asylum of which he was the first Superintendent. He adopted the method of teaching that was followed in the Indian pial-school; *viz.*, the sharper and senior boys teaching their juniors and acting as assistant teachers as well as monitors. Every senior boy was thus both a master and a scholar. Dr. Bell retired from Madras in 1796 and spent the remaining years of his life in introducing his system of education into the United Kingdom. He founded a school at St. Andrew's, known as the Madras College, which however ceased before long to utilise the Madras system of education.

The Male Orphan Asylum developed out of the Charity School maintained by the Vestry of St. Mary's Church in the Fort. Subsequently, a press was established at the school which provided useful training for the orphans and diminished the cost of printing work. Government printed its *Gazette* at this press. From this emanated the Madras Male Asylum Almanac, a publication which endured for many years and is still issued as the Lawrence Asylum Press Almanac.

A Female Orphan Asylum was founded in 1787 by the efforts of Lady Campbell and supported by private endowments. It existed as a

the development of the silk industry. There was a Nopalry at the Lushington Gardens, Saidapet, which was also suggested for utilisation for silk culture by Dr. Anderson. Dr. Roxburgh who later on became famous on account of his development of the Botanical Garden at Calcutta, also suggested at that time further activities in the way of the development of the sago, date and palmyra palms, besides jack and bread fruit. The Nopalry* of Anderson survived till 1800, when it was ordered to be closed by the Governor, as it had entirely failed in its object. The present Anderson's Garden was originally designed by him as a botanical garden. Anderson had in hand various speculations and improvements. He enjoyed a high reputation in his day and is now remembered by a fine monument in the vestibule of St. George's Cathedral.

The Lunatic Asylum (1793)

Yet another institution started at this time which was worthy of note was the Lunatic Asylum which was sanctioned by Sir Charles Oakeley, the Governor, in 1793, pending approval by the Court of Directors. A site in Purasawakam was chosen for the institution which has since been very useful to the people of the Presidency. The establishment of this Asylum was due to the energy and effort of Surgeon Valentine Conolly who was Secretary to the Hospital Board.

Conolly proposed to erect at his own expense the hospital and to equip it with airy apartments and warm and cold baths and said that all insane officers and privates should be sent there

separate institution for over a hundred years and was merged, in the beginning of this century, with the Lawrence Asylum at Ootacamund and with the Civil Orphan Asylum at Madras. The Male Asylum originally stood on the site on which the present Egmore Railway Station stands.

* The Nopal is a cactus imported from Mexico and South America, which was expected to produce cochineal for commercial purposes. Dr. Francis Buchanan examined the Madras Nopalry and said that it contained some very valuable trees such as the olive, the stone-pine, the oak, the carob, the varnish tree, the myrrh, the balsan, the date, the pimento and the coffee and held that it would be a pity to abolish [illegible] garden, much of the plants of which were removed to the Lal [illegible] Bangalore.

for treatment as well as such who might be certified to be insane by judicial or police officers.

The Rule of the Hollond Brothers

When Sir William Medows was Governor (1790-92) he was also the Commander-in-Chief and spent a greater part of his period in the field. On his arrival the Council consisted of Mr. E. J. Hollond, the acting President, who had just succeeded his brother, Mr. John Hollond, and Mr. Taylor. The first act of Medows under orders of the Calcutta Government was to suspend both these gentlemen. When Medows went out to the field, the senior member, Mr. Turing, became the Acting President, and he was succeeded after some time by Sir Charles Oakeley. The government of the Brothers Hollond was marked by great incompetence and corruption. Their incompetence was seen in the events that resulted in the invasion by Tipu of the territories of the ruler of Travancore, and their corruption was fully exposed in the downfall of their favourite Dubash, Avadhanam Paupiah who was the factotum of the brothers and became for a time the most influential and dreaded man in Madras.

Paupiah rose from the humble rank of a writer to be the anchorage accountant under the sea customs officer. His influence soon became notorious and he was the willing instrument of the Hollond brothers who were opposed in some of their plans by the Board of Revenue and who wanted to crush Mr. Haliburton, then a member of the Board who, tried to thwart their schemes. A number of allegations were made against Haliburton; and they were all of them ingeniously engineered by Paupiah, who used every kind of persuasion and force to cook up evidence. The Hollonds transferred Haliburton to an unhealthy station in the mofussil and put him to a lot of trouble. Later, when the brothers fell from power and an inquiry was begun into their misdoings, Paupiah himself was tried for conspiracy at the Quarter-Sessions of 1792 by the Governor, Sir William Medows, who presided over

the court. Paupiah was imprisoned for three years and fined a large sum. He was, however, exempted by the jury from the ignominy of standing in the pillory for an hour, to which he was at first condemned.

Paupiah's misfortunes did not end even after he was released from imprisonment. He took part in the miserable transactions concerning the Nawab's debts; and it was well known that he was one of the men who fabricated documents or forged bonds purporting to be issued by the Nawabs of the Carnatic in favour of their creditors. Paupiah was such a claimant and was examined by the committee of inquiry that was ordered to examine the alleged forged bonds. A prosecution for forgery was started against Paupiah in 1808; but he escaped further ignominy by death."*

Paupiah was a typical Dubash of the lower type. But his corruption was largely a consequence of the corruption in which even some of the Europeans themselves indulged. His name is even now remembered in Madras being that of a street in Choolai.

Cornwallis in Madras

Lord Cornwallis personally conducted the war with Tipu Sultan and remained for some time in Madras from which he proceeded to take the field. In grateful memory of the services of Cornwallis, a statue of his Lordship was erected by public subscription by the Madras citizens. There are fine pictures of Cornwallis and Medows preserved in the Government House. "The statue, executed by Thomas Banks and sent out in 1800, represents the Governor-General in a British Peer's robes over uniform.

* "These historical gleanings of Paupiah and the Hollonds fortunately find their echo in Sir Walter Scott's novel, 'The Surgeon's Daughter.' Scott was related to the Haliburtons through his father's mother and had perhaps read a copy of the pamphlet on 'The Trial of Avadhanam Paupiah' published by Haliburton in 1793. (Madras edition, 1825). In the 'Surgeon's Daughter' (1827) Scott says that Paupiah was the Dubash by whose means the President of the Council chiefly communicated with the native Courts and Paupiah himself is depicted as 'artful Hindu,' a 'master counsellor of dark projects, an Oriental Machiavel whose premature wrinkles were the result of many an intrigue in which the existence of the poor, the happiness of the rich, the honour of men and the chastity of women had been sacrificed

Placed on a cylindrical pedestal which bears a relief depicting the delivery of the hostage princes, it was erected on the parade-ground west of the Fort Square. On the demolition of the square in 1825, it was moved eastwards so as to stand before the enlarged Fort House or Government Office, and a stone canopy built over it. Brass guns of Spanish, Danish, and Indian origin were disposed around the monument. Early in the twentieth century, when the marble had weathered through exposure to the sea air, the statue was transferred to the interior of the Connemara Library in Pantheon Road, where it now remains.'' The statue is larger than life, and the head is uncovered. Round its base are four panels, one of which contains the following inscription:—"This statue is erected by a general vote, at the joint expense of the principal inhabitants of Madras and of the Civil and Military Servants of the East India Company, belonging to the Presidency of Fort St. George, as a grateful testimony of the high sense they entertain of the conduct and actions of the Most Noble the Marquis Cornwallis during the time he held the high offices in India.'' On two others there are single figures of Britannia and the Angel of Victory. On the fourth there is a scene in bas-relief representing the giving up of the young Mysore Princes to Cornwallis. A group of British officers stand behind the Marquis, one of them being a civilian and another a particularly good figure of an officer of the Madras Artillery.

The Madras Press—Its beginnings

In connection with the Lawrence Asylum Press Almanac noted above,* the origin of the press in Madras may be traced.

without scruple to attain some political or private advantage.' Scott rightly emphasizes the vindictive spirit of Paupiah when he writes in his novel that 'if Hartly let his indignation betray him into reproaches against Paupiah and his principal,......mountains." (Page 34, Paper of Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Iyer, entitled 'Avadhanam Paupiah and a famous Madras trial' in the Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings of Meetings, Vol. XII). Also refer to the article—The Two Hollonds of Madras and their Dubash—By Justice Frawcett in the J. I. H. Vol. V.

* See p. 195; foot-note.

The first printing press that was established in Madras was by the S.P.C.K. in 1711 and it issued an edition of the New Testament in Tamil. This Mission began its operations in this Presidency in 1698. It built up a school which struggled on till 1746 when it was taken under the special protection of the Company. The S.P.C.K. assisted the Danish Missionaries of Tranquebar greatly in all their educational efforts. In fact, throughout the 18th century, it was the missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, that were mostly responsible for the promotion of education in the Presidency.

Its later growth

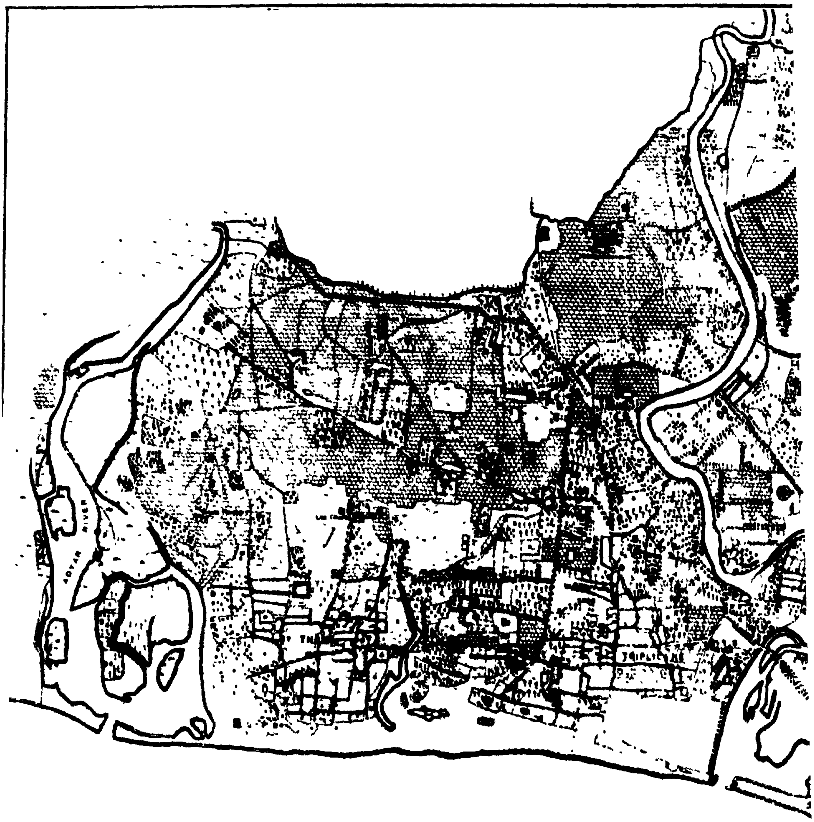
The *Madras Gazette* inserted advisements in the Tamil language and shared Government patronage along with the "Courier." About 1800 a censorship was instituted over the press and all newspapers had to be submitted to the Chief Secretary to Government before their publication. The increase in the output of the periodical press was marked in Madras as in Calcutta after 1820. At first, there were three weeklies—"The Government Gazette", the "Madras Gazette" and the "Madras Courier",—all extracting their news from the European papers and reporting Parliamentary debates six months after date. Mr. Goldingham, the Company's Astronomer, was the editor of the "Government Gazette." The "Courier" was noted for its wit, but carefully kept itself free from the clutches of the Chief Secretary. It was often at odds with the *Madras Gazette.*

The vernacular press of Madras came into life shortly before the middle of the 19th century.

The rule of Lord Hobart (1795-98)

Lord Hobart, afterwards the Earl of Buckinghamshire, succeeded Sir Charles Oakeley was Governor from 1794-98 and re-organised the Madras Army. It was in his time that a Recorder's Court* was established. This was a new departure

* We saw that the earliest Madras courts worked under the authority of the Charter of Charles II. Till 1678 the arrangements for the administration of Justice were made by rules framed by the Governor. In that year, the first Supreme Court was established in the persons



LIMITS OF MADRAS

as fixed on the 2nd of November 179[illegible]

by the

Right Honourable

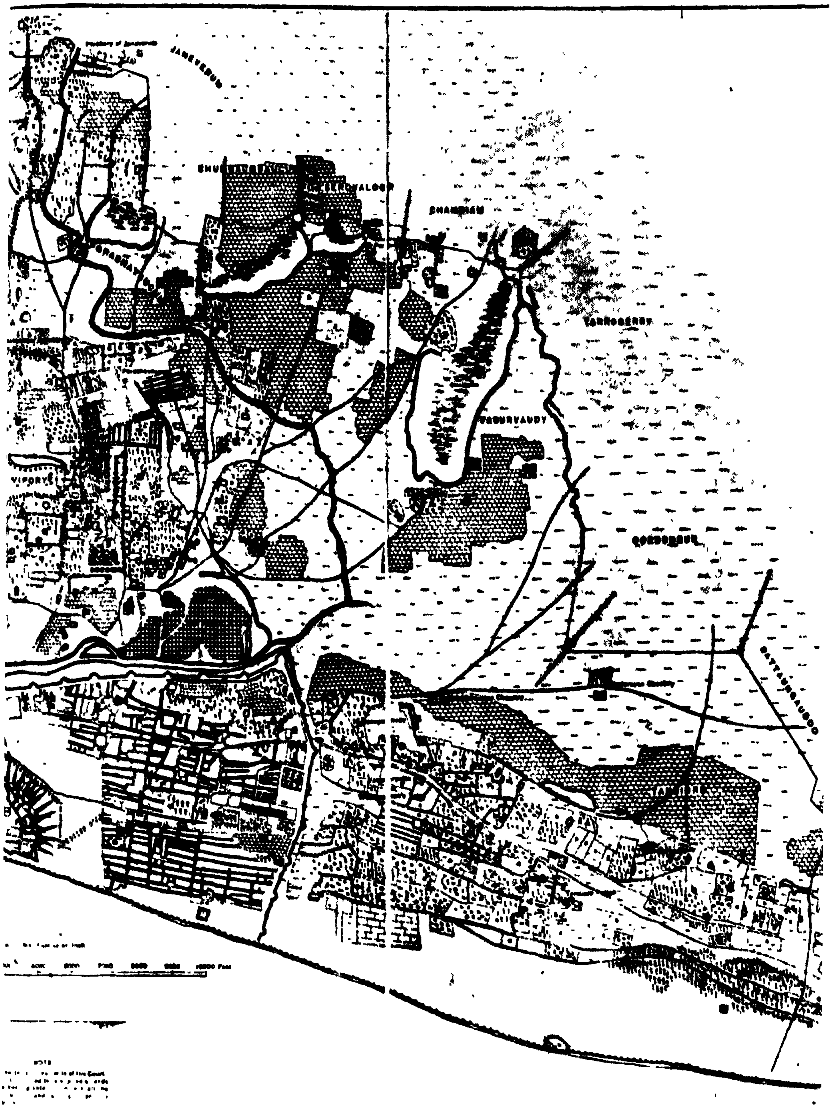
the

GOVERNOR & COUNCIL

when the

COURT of the RECORDER

was established



and meant a complete reorganisation of the judicial system of the Presidency. The old Mayor's Court which had been in existence ever since the starting of the Corporation was absorbed into the new Court.

The Recorder's Court (1798)

There had been some friction between the Government and the Mayor's Court which led to the former's establishing a new Court for the trial of civil causes between Indians. In 1798, a new Charter of Justice was received which provided for the appointment of a Recorder and the erection of the Recorder's Court. Soon afterwards, the ancient Choultry Court was abolished and in 1801 a new Supreme Court of Judicature was started with the Recorder, Sir Thomas Strange as its Chief Justice and with two Puisne Judges.

of the Governor and Council who sat to hear causes but who did not supersede the Justices of the Choultry who continued to decide actions for debt and small misdemeanours. The Mayor's Court was created by the Company's Charter of Incorporation of 1687. It was empowered to try all cases, civil or criminal but there was to be an appeal from it in civil cases when the award exceeded 3 pagodas and in criminal causes when the offender was sentenced to loss of life or limb. There was the right of appeal from the Mayor's Court to the Court of Admiralty which was established by virtue of the Charter of 1683 and by the Directors despatch of January 1687. The Admiralty Court was soon afterwards superseded for certain reasons by the Governor and Council. The new Mayor's Court created by the Charter of 1726 was a Court of Record from which an appeal lay to the Governor and Council who were constituted Justices of the Peace and a Court of Oyer, Terminer and General Gaol Delivery. The Court of Directors sent out with the Charter of 1726 a Book of Instructions with respect to the method of proceeding in all actions and suits, civil and criminal, and also the forms of the oaths to be taken. It was probably in this book of Instructions that the doctrine laid down that by the Charter of 1726, all Common Law and Statute Law at that time extant in England was introduced into the Indian Presidencies, and that all the Parliamentary enactments passed since that time were excluded unless their extension to India was specially declared. The Charter of 1753 re-created the Mayor's Courts with some not very material alterations, but excluding suits between Indians unless entertained with their consent. The jurisdiction of the Government courts in criminal matters was also limited to offences committed within the Presidency and the factories subordinate thereto. Later, the arrangement made by Warren Hastings, known as the Adalat Scheme, were applied to the territories that came under the control of the English.

Lord Clive Governor (1798-1803)

Lord Clive, Governor from 1798 to 1803, saw several changes effected in the condition of the City as well as of the Presidency. The fall of Seringapatam and the destruction of Tipu's power took place in 1799 and with them English supremacy became unquestioned in the whole of South India. Both the Carnatic and the Tanjore kingdoms were annexed in 1801; these new acquisitions, together with the territories got by the English from the Mysore kingdom in 1792 and 1799, made up the Madras Presidency almost in its present shape—the old territories of the Company being the Northern Circars and the Jaghir or (Chingleput) District. The Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, was himself present in Madras during the operations against Tipu's and a portrait of him was got by public subscription and hung in the Exchange Hall.

Cochrane's Canal

Besides the creation of the Supreme Court, Lord Clive's tenure of power saw the opening of Cochrane's Canal* which extended the North River into a navigable channel as far as Ennore and the building of the Banqueting Hall† by the side of the new

* It was constructed by Basil Cochrane and involved the realignment and the deepening of the North River. Being opened in the time of Lord Clive it was known for long as the Clive Canal, while the village of Nedumbarai near the Buckingham Mills bore the name of Clivepettah, possible so called from its vicinity to Clive Canal.

† The Banqueting Hall was built by Goldingham, the Company's Astronomer and Engineer. It is in the form of a Greek Temple and said to resemble the Parthenon at Athens. The Hall is built upon a basement of arched cellars and store-rooms and is surrounded by a terrace all round which is covered in with colonnades. It is 120 feet long, 65 feet wide and 40 feet high and in it is a gallery running on all the sides supported upon fine polished chunam columns of the Ionic type and the gallery itself is adorned with Corinthian columns raised above the Ionic. There is a grand flight of steps on the northern side, while at the south end a double flight of steps provides convenience of access from Goverment House. Along the walls of the Banqueting Hall hang a number of full-length portraits of the great Anglo-Indians who made Madras history in the past and many of the important Governors besides Nawab Wallajah.

Government House.* Clive also made comprehensive plans for enlarging Government House which was too small for receptions and was shabby and mean by the side of the magnificent Chepauk Palace of the Nawab.

Clive's work in Madras

The Banqueting Hall was built to represent, as it were, the triumph of Seringapatam; and Lord Clive combined with it the memory of Plassey, the great achievement of his noble father, both of which victories are indicated by the friezes on the pediments of the roof. A battery, still existing on the North Beach Road, was constructed in his time at the sea end of the Black Town wall. It was named after the Governor and is even now known as the Clive Battery.

Thus Madras grew almost in to its present shape and extent with the opening years of the 19th century, even as the Madras Presidency came to be finally formed about the same time. Hereafterwards a fresh epoch begins, "in which consequent on vast extensions of territory, the interest of tracing the history of municipal affairs and institutions fades in the light of the larger administrative problems of a great Presidency."

* As we saw already, the nucleus of the present Government House was acquired in 1753 by purchase. It then lay to the east of the road which led from the head of the Triplicane Bridge (the predecessor of the Willingdon Bridge) through Triplicane to San Thomé. Its garden was subsequently enlarged on several occasions by the addition of neighbouring compounds. It was occupied by Lally during his siege of Madras and later raided by Hyder Ali's troops. More than one Governor had died within its walls.

It was probably towards the close of the 18th century that the portion of the Triplicane High Road from the present Police Station to the Willingdon Bridge was eliminated and the present angular alignment along the present Mount Road and Wallajah Road made. That the old road ran through the Government House park may even now be seen by the relics of the old avenue trees still standing.

After the enlargement of Government House by Lord Clive, a third storey was added to the structure in 1860 and the Park was considerably enlarged on the east by the enclosure of a part of the garden that had belonged to the Nawab's Chepauk Palace.

XV

MADRAS IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 19TH CENTURY (1803—1827)

The Governorship of Lord William Bentinck (1803-07)

Lord William Bentinck who was later on to become the Governor-General of India, was an amiable and well-meaning nobleman, who ruled Madras for four years and got into a great deal of trouble during that epoch. His rule saw the outbreak of a mutiny of the sepoys at Vellore, which had to be put down with considerable difficulty and in which the celebrated Colonel Gillespie saved many lives by his promptitude and daring. In addition to this trouble which excited a great amount of interest and feeling, there was the further quarrel between the Government and a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature established in 1801.

Quarrel between the Government and the Judges

The Recorder's Court took the place of the old Mayor's Court in 1798; and Sir Thomas Strange who had been for seven years Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, became the Recorder. Mr. Abbott, an ex-Mayor of Madras, who had controlled the Mayor's Court, was jealous of the new tribunal and took steps to capture it and the Recorder. Abbott and his friend Roebuck made use of the Aldermen, who sat by rotation as judges in the Recorder's Court, to capture that tribunal and to establish an extravagant scale of fees therein. Strange protested that the element of Aldermen Judges in the Court was unworkable, as some of the Aldermen were corrupt and others were unfit for judicial work by reason of their business. connections. Consequent upon the representations of Strange, the Recorder's Court was superseded by a Supreme Court composed of a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges. Sir Thomas Strange became the first Chief Justice of the new tribunal; and the two other Judges were Mr., afterwards Sir, Benjamin Sulivan, who had been Counsel for Government (or Advocate-General) for the last

twenty years, and Sir Henry Gwillim. Almost from the very first, Justice Gwillim quarrelled with the Chief Justice and indulged in an offensive and violent style of correspondence. During Sir Thomas Strange's absence in England (1805-6), Justice Gwillim contrived to quarrel with the Governor and with the Senior Member of Council, Mr. Petrie.

In July 1806 there occurred the mutiny at Vellore. Government thought it necessary to create a regular police force in Madras under the control of one, Mr. Grant. Justice Gwillim held that this new police was merely an engine of official oppression; and when the policemen attempted to put down a riot that broke out in the grain bazaar, Gwillim had the policemen arrested and compelled the withdrawal of the sentinels placed in the bazaar. He violently attacked the action of the police which had been created without the approval of the Supreme Court. On a subsequent occasion when the police arrested an Indian, who was accused of a criminal charge, he admitted a motion of Habeas Corpus on behalf of the arrested man, made by Mr. Marsh, a Barrister friend of his; and he even suggested that a motion for attachment against the Superintendent of Police should be made for not making a sufficient return to the writ of Habeas Corpus. He denounced the Advocate-General, Mr. Anstruther, who reported to Government his outrageous charges against the police and even burst out into an open abuse of the Government, particularly of the Governor.*

Sir Henry threatened that he would submit the whole matter to his Majesty's Ministers, so that His Majesty might know the

* "Can these outrages," he said, "be sanctioned by a Bentinck, by one of that family so illustrious in the cause of liberty? It is impossible! None of the noble blood of the Cavendishes can flow in the veins of this man. He must be some spurious changeling that has been palmed (off) upon that noble family and contaminated it...... What! put a soldier to act as the head of the police where he is to deprive men of their liberties?......Not one of us is safe. We are living under a complete military despotism." (Sir Alexander Cardew, "*The White Mutiny*," (1929)—Appendix A).

spirit and character of the new police of Madras. Thereupon Government resolved to address the Court of Directors to take measures for the removal of Sir Henry from the Bench. When the latter was asked whether he would care to submit an explanation, he insolently replied that the Advocate-General was an informer and Government would have to explain their conduct in starting "the cumbrous and expensive police." He attacked the police even in his subsequent charges to the jury; and it was as much as the Chief Justice could do to tell the Grand Jury that Government had done quite the right thing in creating the police, whose conduct had been moderate and judicious. The Chief Justice added that if Government had not created an efficient police, after what had happened at Vellore, "they would have been guilty of a great neglect of duty." The Grand Jury apparently took the side of Justice Gwillim and found that the Superintendent of Police had exercised military power by arresting persons without lawful authority or warrant and his action was against the law and the constitution. There was a violent scene between the Chief Justice and Sir Henry over the indictment of the Superintendent, with which the Grand Jury would not, however, proceed. Meanwhile Government had addressed the Court of Directors on the extraordinary and truculent behaviour of Sir Henry Gwillim; and the latter body presented a petition to the Crown on legal advice for his removal from the Bench. In November 1807, orders were despatched recalling Sir Henry to England and asking him to explain his conduct. Till the moment he left the shores of Madras, he maintained a violent hostility to Government. The Board of Control had arranged for a full inquiry into his conduct by the Lords of the Privy Council, who recommended that he should be removed from his office. Thus ended the career of a truculent Judge of Madras; but the influence of his conduct and of his defiance of Government continued to be felt for some years and was displayed in the hostile attitude adopted by Mr. Charles Marsh towards Sir

George Barlow, who succeeded Lord William Bentinck in the Governorship.

The mutinous condition of the Madras Army

Even in the last days of Lord William Bentinck, a considerable amount of trouble was given to the Government by the semi-mutinous conduct of the officers of the Madras Army, who were discontented with their emoluments and privileges and were jealous of the larger opportunities given to the King's Officers. Lord William Bentinck and Sir George Craddock, the Commander-in-Chief, were recalled by the Directors for their inability to deal effectively with the events that preceded and brought about the Vellore Mutiny. Mr. William Petrie, the Senior Member of Council, who became the Acting Governor for a few months (1807) found the situation serious enough. He drew the attention of the Court of Directors to the state of feeling in the Madras Army. The new Commander-in-Chief, General Macdowall, resented very much his not being given a place in the Council as the Court of Directors had ordered, in view of the dissensions which had occurred between Sir John Craddock and the Government that the Commanders-in-Chief in Madras and Bombay were not to have a seat in the Governors' Councils. General Macdowall felt slighted by his exclusion from the Council, made a protest to the Directors who revised their orders; but it was too late as the General had impulsively already resigned and departed before he could get the despatch. This action of the impulsive General left behind him at Madras a great legacy of trouble, which Sir George Barlow, (Governor from 1807 to 1813) had to confront.

Sir George Hilaro Barlow had been a faithful servant of the Company, loyal to Wellesley and equally loyal to Cornwallis who reversed Wellesley's policy. He had been acting Governor-General, quietly returned to his place as Member of Council on the appointment of Lord Minto and got, as some compensation for his disappointment, in the matter of the Governor-Generalship, the Grand Cross of the Bath and the Governorship of Madras in succession to Lord William Bentinck.

The Governorship of Sir George Barlow—The troubles that faced him

The rule of Sir George Barlow was rendered miserable by the truculence of Sir Henry Gwillim and by the continued obstruction of the adherents of the latter, like Barrister Marsh and Messrs. Abbott and Roebuck and Thomas Parry, free merchant and founder of the still flourishing firm of of Messrs. Parry and Company; there were other causes of discontent and disaffection, of which the most important was the vexed question of the Carnatic Debts. Besides, the free merchants of the place were discontented because they had not so many opportunities of making gains as before. The assumption of direct rule by Government over the Carnatic and the pensioning away of the Nawab closed many openings for rapid riches and illicit profits. Above all, there was a mutinous spirit prevailing among the military officers, to which reference has been already made.

The retiring Commander-in-Chief, General Macdowall, sent out a Parthian shot in the shape of a general order in which he claimed to support the dignity of the military profession and of his own status as against an attempt at the subversion of them by the civil government. For some time, Sir George Barlow acted with considerable and commendable restraint, in the matter of the provocations given by the military. Even General Macdowall's farewell address to the Army, provocative as it was, was allowed to pass unnoticed. But when his last general order was published, Barlow lost his self-restraint and resolved to recall the fleet in which the Commander-in-Chief had embarked and which was not yet out of sight of the Fort and took the further step of removing him from the post of Commander-in-Chief on the ground that though he had set sail, he had not yet resigned, condemning his action and directing his general order to be expunged from every public record. The Adjutant-General and his deputy were also suspended as being accessory, and on the ground that a military officer who obeyed an illegal command of his superior was not protected from consequences.

Barlow appointed Major-General Gowdie, a person of no strong personality, to the Commander-in-Chiefship. The excitement among the officers increased; seditious papers circulated among them ; and an improper memorial was widely canvassed among all the officers of the Company's service. The suspended officers got a great amount of sympathy, and it was difficult for the new Commander-in-Chief to restore peace. The situation quickly developed into serious proportions; and in the beginning of 1809, a wide rumour was abroad of seizing and putting the Governor in a *masulah* boat and sending him over the surf.

Mutiny of the European officers of the Army (1809-10)

There was an outbreak of mutiny among the officers at Masulipatam, at Secunderabad, at Jaulna and at Seringapatam ; and there was tense excitement for two months. Lord Minto, the Governor-General, had to come to Madras and to take upon himself the conduct of affairs. His decisions were marked by great leniency. Only three officers were court-martialled, eighteen others were allowed to choose either a court-martial or dismissal from service and all the others were given an amnesty, and restored to their former rank. It is said that Lord Minto was as much lenient as Barlow had been severe. The real reason why the mutiny did not succeed was that the sepoys were not prepared to support their officers. The re-organization of the army in 1796 had brought in an influx of new officers, many of whom were not level-headed and serious. Sir George Barlow's measures to restore discipline in the army were not all of them unexceptionable. The unpopularity caused by his attitude resulted in the spread of an unmeaning hatred of him among all ranks of officials.

The end of the White Mutiny

The mutinous officers had no common organization though they talked of seizing the person of Barlow and at the same time protested their undying loyalty to the Crown and the Company. On the other hand, some said that it was Barlow that saved the British Empire in India from this great danger, namely the White Mutiny, of 1809-10.

The Carnatic Debts

Another demoralising event was the way in which the question of the Carnatic Debts was attempted to be solved. Reference has already been made to the continuing scandal of these debts, in connection with the career of Avadhanam Paupiah. Nawab Muhammad Ali had become very extravagant with age and incurred an enormous amount of debts; both to the Company and private creditors to whom he made over large districts as securities. His bonds and notes were freely bought and sold in the market; and the discount on them fluctuated with the fluctuations in his financial expectations. A number of speculating persons, both European and Indian, became interested in his debts; and their growing influence intensified the vicious system by which speculating creditors farmed out the taxes of large districts much in the manner of the Roman tax-farmers.

After Nawab Wallajah's death in 1795, his son and successor, Omdat-ul-Omarah perpetuated the vicious system. When he died in 1801, his successor was compelled to give over his entire kingdom to the English; and in return, the Government of the Presidency undertook to arrange for the liquidation of the Carnatic Debts and to set aside a sum of about 12 lakhs of rupees annually for the purpose. A deed to this effect was signed between the Company and the creditors of the Nawab. Three Commissioners were appointed in London to adjudicate on all claims arising in Britain, while three other men chosen from the Bengal Service were asked to investigate the claims in India and to report to the Commissioners in London.

Circulation of forged bonds

This was in 1807. Soon there came to circulate in the Presidency large quantities of forged bonds purporting to have been issued by the late Nawabs. A Committee presided over by the Advocate-General reported, in this matter, that the forged bonds existed to a great extent and they were supported by forged entries in the account books of the Carnatic Durbar. It was also added that Raya Reddi Row, the Sheristadar of the Nawab, had contrived to introduce these forged entries; and on the other

hand, it was claimed that the allegation was made against him in order to secure his removal from office. Our old friend, Avadhanam Paupiah, was an active party in the intrigue against Raya Reddi Row and was further found to be concerned in the forgery of a Carnatic bond for 46,000 pagodas. Government sanctioned the prosecution of Paupiah for forgery, while the Commissioners took up for investigation a bond put forward by Raya Reddi Row. Paupiah denounced this bond as a forgery ; but he could not prove his case ; and the Commissioners recommended that he should be proceeded against for conspiracy, and his witnesses prosecuted for perjury. Paupiah had influential supporters like Mr. Abbott and Mr. Thomas Parry, free merchant, who had taken service under the Nawab some years previously, nominally as a captain of his troops and whom Government some years back had resolved to deport to Great Britain by virtue of an old order of the Directors. Now Paupiah and his supporters lodged a charge of forgery against Raya Reddi Row; and a friendly Justice of the Peace committed Reddi Row and his abetting brother for trial before the Supreme Court on an alleged forged bond which was under investigation by the Commissioners. Paupiah and his supporters, Abbott, Roebuck and Parry, protested to Government against their law officers being employed on Reddi Row's side. In the trial that ensued, Reddi Row was found guilty by the jury, though the Chief Justice who presided, was convinced of his innocence and refused to pass sentence. Moreover, the two witnesses of Paupiah against whom the Commissioners had recommended a prosecution for perjury were acquitted ; and in fresh prosecutions that were instituted by Paupiah against Reddi Row and Mr. Battley, Secretary to the Nawab, the jury gladly convicted them. Thus Paupiah and his party won all along the line. They now sent a protest, defending their action, to the Governor-General himself and held that the Government Commissioners should not proceed with any further investigation of the bonds connected with the Carnatic Debts. But new difficulties soon cropped up. If a section of the English

merchants in Madras, like Abbott, Roebuck and Parry, supported Paupiah, another section consisting of many leading firms and including (1) Latour and Co., which afterwards became Arbuthnot and Co., (2) Binny and Dennison, (3) Colt, Hart and Weston, (4) Harrington, Tulloch and Co., (5) S. H. Grig, De Fries and Co., (6) De Monte and Co., and others assured the Government of their faith in the Commissioners and showed their anxiety that the forged bonds should be eliminated from circulation as early as possible.

But Abbott and Parry went one step further and threatened even the Commissioners with criminal proceedings in the Supreme Court. After this very extra-ordinary and almost defiant step, the Government of Barlow was forced to take decisive action against them. Roebuck was removed from his official appointments in Madras and transferred to Vizagapatam. Maitland was dismissed from his office of Justice of the Peace. It was himself acting as Justice of the Peace that had committed Reddi Row and his brother for trial before the Supreme Court. Thomas Parry was peremptorily ordered to be prepared to be deported to England. Parry's biographer, Mr. Hodgson, says that one important feature of that merchant's busy life was his sturdy defiance of Government, first in 1800 on the occasion of his first threatened deportment and again in 1809 when he was caught up in the vortex of the scandals of the Carnatic Debts, in the final solution of which, he played "a very leading and courageous part, fighting undauntedly against deeply entrenched and powerful forces."* Once again, Parry contrived to escape from the clutches of Government, which was unable to enforce its order of deportation. But his claim on the Carnatic Debts derived from Paupiah was disallowed.

After these measures and with the death of Paupiah in the beginning of 1809, the Commissioners became free to pursue their investigations. Their further proceedings lighted up the fact that Reddi Row himself was guilty of bad faith. This

* G. H. Hodgson: Thomas Parry, Free Merchant, Madras, 1768—1824 (Madras, 1938)—pp. 165 *et seq.*

discovery led to the man's suicide. Both Reddi Row and Avadhanam Paupiah had been instrumental in the circulation of forged bonds, though many reputable firms and persons discovered that the bonds which they held were bad. When the Commissioners finished their task, out of a total value of 30 millions sterling, only £2,500,000 could be decreed in favour of the claimants. The Government of Sir George Barlow was greatly discredited on account of these scandals which were rendered worse by the errors of judgement of the Commissioners.*

Sir George Barlow's retirement

Thus we see Madras weltering in a thoroughly unwholesome condition in the beginning of the 19th century. Faction was rife and there was a spirit of of defiance, bred of a long period of lax administration and intemperate attacks on authority; the army was in a woeful condition ; the merchants, many of whom occupied official positions of trust and emoluments under Government, were eager to make money ; and the memories of the past did not help to ease the situation. Sir George Barlow's Government grew to be more and more unpopular until, at last, he was accused of having produced the very evil which he cured. His Government was criticised in the press by means of anonymous letters and pamphlets, and by "personal intrigue and by minutes and speeches in the India House and in Parliament." The result was that the majority of the Court of Directors who had first applauded his vigorous action, gradually disappeared and in 1812 he was recalled by a hostile majority. Barlow

* "Macartney estimated Md. Ali's public debt at 30 lakhs of pagodas and his private liabilities at 70 lakhs of pagodas. Dundas's insistence upon admitting the private claims without investigation and giving them priority inspired Burke to some of his finest oratory; it also inspired a great number of people in India to imaginative efforts of another kind. On the annexation of the Carnatic (1801) private claims were preferred to the amount of nearly thirty and a half millions of pounds sterling for debts incurred by the Nawab since Macartney reported. This time, however, the bills came under scrutiny by Commissions sitting at Madras and in London, with the result that claims amounting to not far short of twenty-eight millions were thrown out as false and fraudulent." (A Butterworth: *The Formation of Madras, Part I*).

returned to England in 1813, but did not make any effect either to indicate himself or to reverse the decision against him.

Lord Valentia's account

Before we proceed to the rule of the next three Governors, Sir John Abercromby, Hugh Elliot and Sir Thomas Munro, who covered between them the years 1813-1827, we can peruse with advantage a description of Madras given by an intelligent English observer Lord Valentia, who spent the years 1802-6 in wide travels in the East. He spent a few days in Madras during the Governorship of Lord William Bentinck and his impression of Madras is quoted in extenso below :—

"In appearance, Madras differs widely from Calcutta, having no European town, except a few houses, which are chiefly used as warehouses in the fort. The gentlemen of the settlement live entirely in their garden-houses, as they very properly call them; for these are all surrounded by gardens, so closely planted, that the neighbouring houses is rarely visible. Choultry Plain, once the scene of Tippoo's devastation, when at the head of a body of horse, he descended the Ghauts, and carried dismay to the walls of Fort Saint George, is now covered by these peaceful habitations, which have changed a barren sand into a beautiful scene of vegetation. I suspect, however, that the confinement of the air has in some degree tended to diminish the healthiness of the settlement. It has certainly increased the labour of paying visits, for owing to the large extent of ground that is occupied by each house, the distance to be passed is frequently full three miles.

"The Government House is also in the Plain, being situated on the edge of the Esplanade, and has the advantage of not being quite shut up, having a very pleasing view of the sea, and of Fort Saint George. Chepauk-gardens, belonging to the Nawaub, unfortunately come rather too far forward, and intercept the sea-breeze. The house itself is large and handsome; the floors, the walls and pillars are of the most beautiful chunam, of different colours, almost equal in splendour to marble itself. Lord Clive built a very large room of handsome appearance at

a small distance in front, which has a bad effect from the house, and, when used on public occasions, is inconvenient, as being separated from it. The roads are a great ornament to the place, being broad, and shaded on each side by a noble avenue of trees. The fort itself is handsome, strong, and not too large; it is of more use than Fort William, which, from the difficulty of the navigation of the Hoogly, can never be attacked from the sea, whilst Madras would, without it, be liable to the insults of any small squardron that might escape the vigilance of our cruizers.'' (Lord Valentia's *Travels* ; Vol. I, page 337).

The rule of Abercromby and Elliot (1813 *to* 1820)

Munro's new Regulations (1814-16)

Sir John Abercromby succeeded Sir George Barlow as temporary Governor at Madras and was in office for about sixteen months. There was nothing very remarkable about his rule. He was followed by the Rt. Hon'ble Hugh Elliot who was in the diplomatic service of Britain and the Governor of the Leeward Islands. He was at the head of the Presidency for nearly six years and was succeeded by the great Sir Thomas Munro. The rule of Elliot* was marked by the introduction of the reforms effected in the administrative system by the Judicial Commission which was appointed in 1814 with Munro as its president. Munro and Elliot did not agree cordially : the Governor was jealous of the military Commissioner and feared that he would effect sweeping changes. Munro complained that Government, the Board of Revenue and the Sadar Adalat Court were all hostile to his favourite scheme of *ryotwari* assessment. At last, after a great deal of correspondence with Mr. Elliot, Munro reported to the Board of Control in April 1816 that the new Regulations as passed by the Commissioners might be possibly accepted by the Governor and his Council ; but they might also be opposed on various grounds.

The Regulations transferred the control of the Police and

* Edward Elliot was the son of the Governor and a Justice of the Sessions. He gave his name to Elliot's Beach, Adyar and to Edward Elliot's Road connecting the Cathedral Road with the Beach.

the functions of the District Magistrate from the Judge to the Collector. They allowed the employment of hereditary village officials as police; they empowered the head-man of villages to hear and decide petty cases; they increased the competence of Indian judicial officers, simplifying the rules of practising the courts and allowed the creation of *Panchayats* or courts of arbitration for villages and larger areas. As a result of these Regulations, the police came to perform many of the duties for which sepoys were formerly employed.

The rupee becomes the standard coin

Another reform effected was the substitution of the rupee for the star pagoda as the standard coin of the Presidency; the rupee was to be calculated at the rate of three and a half to one pagoda. The new currency was to consist of rupees, quarter rupees, double annas and annas, all of which were of silver. Of course, there were smaller copper coins at the rate of twelve pies for one anna.

The College of Fort St. George started

In 1812 Government created the Board for the College of Fort St. George. The Board maintained a depot and library for the sale and loan of Oriental works; and, later, it took charge of the library of Oriental manuscripts transferred from the charge of the Madras Literary Society which was started in 1817 by Sir Thomas Newbolt, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Regular rules for observance by the Board of the College were framed in 1820. The College, besides training the civil servants in the vernaculars of the province, supervised the instruction of *munshis* and of persons who were to be appointed as law-officers and pleaders in the provincial courts. This College had a very useful career and was started in imitation of Lord Wellesley's College of Fort William at Calcutta.

In this connection it may be of interest to the reader to know something of the famous collector of manuscripts and antiquities, Colonel Colin Mackenzie. [1753 to 1821] and his association with Madras.

Colonel Colin Mackenzie's association with Madras

Even as a youth Mackenzie displayed great avidity for mathematical knowledge and was, on that account, employed by Lord Napier of Merchistoun who was then engaged in writing a life cf his ancestor, John Napier, the inventor of logarithms. Young Mackenzie was set to the task of collecting all available information regarding the knowledge that the ancient Hindus had of mathematics and of the nature and use of logarithms. After Lord Napier's death, Mackenzie went to India and joined the Madras Engineers in 1782. He was invited to Madura by Mr. Johnstone, the son-in-law of Lord Napier and the father of Sir Alexander Johnstone who became Chief Justice of Ceylon and one of the founders of the Royal Asiatic Society. It was during his stay at Madura in the company of the Johnstones that Mackenzie came into intellectual contact with the Brahmans and the Pandits of that place and began to realise what a vast store of material lay ready for the historian in the antiquities and the existing literature of the country. It was then that he formed "the plan of making that collection which afterwards became the favourite object of his pursuit for 38 years of his life and which is now the most extensive and most valuable collection of historical documents relative to India that ever was made by any individual in Europe or in Asia.

For the first 14 years of his stay in India till 1796 Mackenzie had no good opportunities of pursuing his cherished aim. During this period we have but a bare record, barren for our purposes, of his professional duties of surveying in the regions newly conquered from Tipu and in Southern Deccan. It was in the latter year that, as Mackenzie himself generously acknowledges in a letter to Sir A. Johnstone, that he came to appreciate the genius of Hindu, and, in special, of Brahman scholarship which proved so helpful to him in his tasks. He thus writes of one, Kavali Venkata Boriah who was his first Pandit:—" The connection that I then (1796) formed with one person, a native and a Brahmin (Boriah) was the first

step of my introduction into the portals of Indian knowledge.. ....From the moment the talents of the lamented Boriah were applied, a new avenue to Hindu knowledge was opened ; and though I was deprived of him at an early age, his example and instructions were so happily followed up by his brethren and disciples that an establishment was gradually formed through which the whole of our provinces might be gradually analysed by the method thus fortuitously begun and successfully followed so far.'' Thus Mackenzie was the pioneer to kindle the lamp of historical and antiquarian research in the Indian mind, as well as the founder of the peripatetic parties for the search of manuscripts and the discovery of archæological finds.

The Mackenzie Collection and the Madras Literary Society Library

Mackenzie greatly increased his collection of grants and manuscripts in the course of his official duties in the Mysore country; he was able to collect over 3,000 authentic inscriptions alone. The value of his collection was first perceived by Lieut.-Colonel Mark Wilks. Mackenzie became the Surveyor-General of Madras in 1810, but was soon called away to Java, and, later, to Calcutta. He had intended to publish a condensed report of the value and contents of the whole collection. But he died prematurely in 1821. The whole collection was bought by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Marquis of Hastings, the then Governor-General. A considerable portion of the collection including manuscripts in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, Javanese, and Burman, and all the maps, plans, drawings, images and sculptures were sent to England in two instalments. The remaining portion of the collection consisting of books and tracts in the Dravidian languages were recommended by Prof. H. H. Wilson who catalogued and indexed the manuscripts, to be added to the Library of the Madras College or the Madras Literary Society. They were deposited in the Madras College Library in 1828. The Madras Literary Society proposed to utilise the services of Kavali Venkata Lakshmiah, a Pandit who was for thirty years in the service of Mackenzie

for the extraction and publication of valuable information from the records.

The Oriental Manuscripts Library formed

The Oriental Manuscripts Library which is now housed in Madras University Library, rose from the nucleus collection of the famous Colonel Colin Mackenzie and was accommodated for sometime in the premises of the Madras Literary Society and, later, in the College of Fort St. George. In 1867 it was transferred to the care of the Director of Public Instruction and placed under the immediate charge of the Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College.

The Library has been growing by the steady accretion of fresh manuscripts which are deligently collected by search parties and is issuing, periodically, classified and descriptive catalogues of the manuscripts in the different languages.

European Society at Madras in this age

The following account of European social life at Madras prevailing at the time, may be of some interest to the reader. It is taken from the work of Walter Hamilton, entitled "A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindostan and the Adjacent Countries" in two volumes and published in 1829. (Vol. II: p. 410).

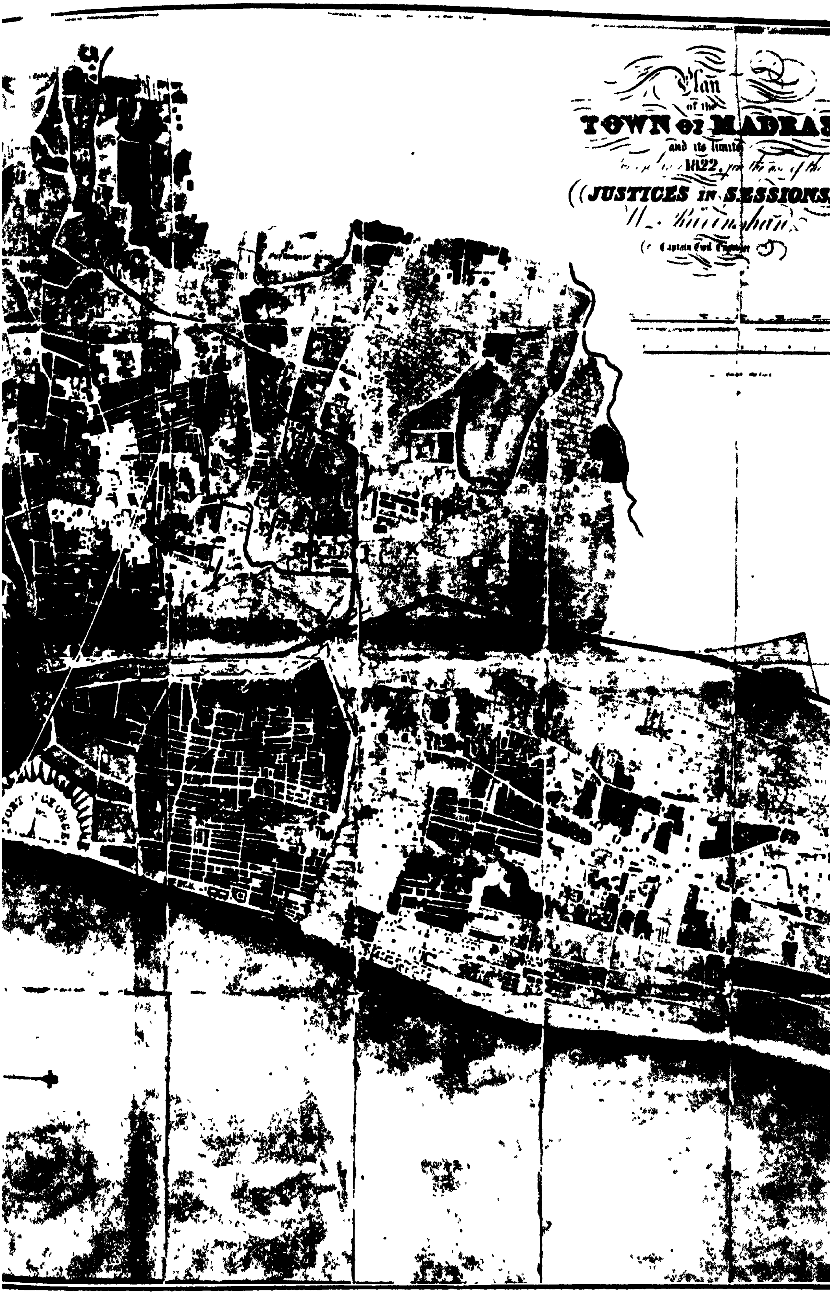
"The society at Madras is more limited than at Calcutta, but the style of living is much the same except that provisions of all sorts are much less abundant and greatly more expensive. During the cold season there are monthly assemblies with occasional balls all the year. Among the places of public resort is the Mount Road leading from the Fort to St. Thomas' Mount, which is quite smooth, with banyan and white tulip trees planted on each side. Five miles from Fort St. George, on this road, stands a cenotaph to the memory of the Marquis Cornwallis, the erection of which cost a very large sum. It is customary for the ladies and gentlemen of Madras to repair in their gayest equipages, during the cool of the evening, to the Mount Road, where they drive slowly about the cenotaph and converse together. But the greatest lounge at this presidency is during

visiting hours, from nine o'clock in the morning until eleven, during which interval the young men go about from house to house, learn and retail the news, and offer their services to execute commissions in the city, to which they must repair for purposes of business. When these functionaries retire, a troop of idlers appear, and remain until tiffin at two o'clock when the real dinner is eaten. The party then separates, and many withdraw to rest or to read until five o'clock; about which time the master of the family returns from the Fort, when an excursion to the Mount Road, and dinner afterwards, finish the day, unless prolonged by a ball or supper party at night."

The Governorship of Sir Thomas Munro (1820—1927)

Sir Thomas Munro came out as a cadet in the Madras Army in 1780 and died of cholera at Pattikonda in the Ceded Districts on July 6th 1827. The period of nearly half a century which Munro devoted to the service of India was marked by wars, by the formation of the Madras Presidency into its present shape and size, and by the settlement of the new districts that were added. Munro had a very large share of credit for all these great events and shone out both as a soldier and as a civil administrator. He was Assistant Collector in the Baramahal, Collector of South Canara and Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts, which he brought back to order and prosperity. He was the father of the Ryotwari system and the President of the Commission of Reforms introduced during the Governorship of Hugh Elliot; and he was one of the 'Great Trio of British Administrators' to whom Modern India owes much, *viz.*, Mountstuart Elphinstone, John Malcolm and himself. The memory of the greatness of Sir Thomas Munro is still cherished by the people of the Presidency.*

* Thus Dr. Bradshaw, the biographer of Sir Thomas Munro, writes:—From Salem the Rev. W. Robinson, writing to me, says: 'Munro's name is held in the greatest reverence in this district, and the highest compliment they can pay a civilian is to compare him to Munro. I have talked to old natives who cherish his memory as that of their greatest benefactor.' In the Ceded Districts boys are still named after him, 'Munrolappa.' In the Cuddapah District wandering


Plan
of the
TOWN of MADRAS
and its limits
1822,
JUSTICES IN SESSIONS
Captain Civil Engineer

Munro's concern for the natives of India

During Munro's Governorship he concentrated his main attention on the matter of internal administrative reforms. His letters and minutes cover a variety of subjects which can be perused with interest in the valuable collection of his *Minutes and other Official Writings*, selected and edited by Sir A. J. Arbuthnot. (1881). Among those reforms on which Munro insisted very strongly, none appealed to his heart more than the necessity of more largely employing native agency in the administration, and of the impolicy of excluding Indians from all situations of trust. He asked very pertinently :—
"With what grace, can we talk of paternal government if we exclude the natives from every important office, and say, as we did till very lately, that in a country containing fifteen millions of inhabitants no man but a European shall be entrusted with as much authority as to order the punishment of a single stroke of a rattan ?....Let Britain be sujugated by a foreign power to-morrow, let the people be excluded from all share in the Government, from public honours, from every office of high trust and emolument, and let them in every situation be considered as unworthy of trust, and all their knowledge and all their literature, sacred and profane, would not save them from becoming, in another generation or two, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race."

Promotion of English Education

In 1822 Sir Thomas Munro, instituted an inquiry into the state of indigenous education in our Presidency, being greatly distressed at the rapid decay of literature and the arts which he saw going on around him. He felt that it was one of the chief duties of the East India Company to carry out the wishes of Parliament by

mendicants sing ballads to his praise. At Gooty a Brahman schoolmaster recently informed me that 'Sir Thomas Munro is styled Mandava Rishi,—Mandava Rishi being no other than Munro deified.' In the recent season of scarcity, 1891-92, at a meeting held at Gooty, with the object of petitioning Government for a reduction of the land assessment, near the end of the proceedings an old *rayat* stood up and merely said in Telugu, 'Oh for Munro Sahib back again." (*Sir Thomas Munro*: Rulers of India Series; (1893)—p. 8: Introduction).

providing for "the moral and intellectual amelioration of the people." The inquiry was entrusted to the Board of Revenue which ascertained that there were nearly 12,500 schools of indigenous origin for the provincial population of over 12 millions. The lower classes were entirely illiterate and the middle ranks, including the land-owning and trading classes, received a scanty, and in the case of the Hindus, a strictly commercial training. There was a considerable body of men among Brahmans and others who had partaken of what could be styled a liberal education, while a few had even attained to considerable eminence in special studies as grammar, logic, metaphysics, rhetoric and mathematics. Their attainments in physical and mathematical sciences were far inferior to those of contemporary Europe; but they were "not inferior to any ancient nation or to the European scholars prior to the Renaissance." Out of the 12,500 institutions, nearly 750 were returned as Vedic *Patasalas,* of which a large number was in the Tanjore District. The rest were primary schools, very few of which appear to have been expressly endowed by the public, the great majority being supported by parents and pupils. Scholars generally paid fees, ranging about four annas and seldom exceeding half a rupee, and teachers in general did not earn more than six or seven rupees a month. The teaching was hardly of any practical value as it is understood now, except that the pupils acquired the first rudiments of arithmetic and were able to keep accounts in a mechanical way. The instruction given in higher subjects aimed at little more than the cultivation of memory.

English Schools started

Munro made certain suggestions for improving this state of affairs and for initiating English education; and in a minute, dated March 10, 1826, he advocated the establishment of a training school for teachers at the Presidency town, of two principal schools in each Collectorate (of which there were then twenty), one for Hindus and one for Muhammadans, and eventually of one inferior school in each *tahsildari.* The scheme of study in the Collectorate schools was to include English, grammar, arithmetic

and geography, besides Tamil, Telugu and Arabic and Sanskrit in cases. Munro appointed a Committee of Public Instruction which was afterwards amalgamated with the College Board whose object was to instruct and examine junior civil servants in the laws and languages of the people. The amalgamated body was termed the Board of Public Instruction; and its duty was to inform itself fully of the condition of education and to direct and improve public education. The first step that it took was the organisation of a school at Madras for the training of teachers; this institution afterwards became the nucleus of the Madras High School and ultimately developed into the Presidency College. The study of English was confined to the Central and the Collectorate schools; and the instruction in the *tahsildari* schools was purely in the vernacular.

Improvements in the City (1800—1832)

In the Fort itself, the old Fort Square was demolished in 1825 and wings were added to the Fort House to provide increased accommodation for the Government Secretariat. Except for the addition of the Legislative Council Buildings to the east of the Secretariat, there have been no large structural alterations carried out within the Fort in the last century.

Mount Road was widened and re-made in 1796. In its course over the Island it was provided with an avenue of trees three deep on either side, and with the Cenotaph in commemoration of Lord Cornwallis' achievement, formed the most important thoroughfare. In Mount Road, half way down to the Cenotaph, was built St. George's Cathedral by the famous Engineer, De Havilland, in 1814-16. It is in the classic style with the porches supported on massive Ionic pillars carrying the entablature and pediment common to Roman architecture.

St. George's Cathedral built

The dawn of the 19th century saw in Madras many evidences of Christian and missionary activity. Recently the famous Danish Missionary, Christian Frederic Schwartz, who laboured in South India for nearly half a century had died. The number of chaplains

had to be increased on account of the large increase in the number of English troops in the Presidency. By this time, the European officials and merchants had built for themselves many garden-houses in the Choultry Plain, *i.e.*, the area between the Triplicane High Road and the Long Tank of Mylapore, now occupied by the suburbs of Tiruvateeswaranpettah, Royapettah, Nungambakam and Teynampet. Their attendance at the Fort Church began to diminish; and the necessity was felt for a new Anglican Church in the neighbourhood where the people lived. Sufficient money was realised from lotteries for the building of the new Church in the Choultry Plain. The Church was built under the supervision of De Havilland. The portico west of the tower is of noble proportions. The interior of the Church is divided into a nave and two aisles supported on Ionic columns of brick and chunam. The spire itself is 140 feet high and is identical in design with that of St. Giles in the Fields in London. The building was called St. George's Church and is now known as St. George's Cathedral. The Church was in course of construction 1814-15, and opened and consecrated by Bishop Middleton of Calcutta on the 8th January 1816; its architect Major De Havilland, of the Corps of Engineers, was also the builder of the Havilland Arch at Seringapatam.

The Church contains some fine monuments. One of these is dedicated to the memory of Dr. James Anderson who was for long Surgeon and subsequently Physician-General in Madras and who attempted the culture of silk-worms, and, besides, maintained a Botanic Garden in Nungambakam which was for long one of the sights of the city. His name is even now preserved in the present Anderson Bridge over the Cooum and Anderson Road in Nungambakam. Another memorial is that of Bishop Heber who was drowned in a swimming-bath at Trichinopoly in 1826 and who did a great deal for the promotion of the Anglican faith in India. These two sculptures are by the famous sculptor, Chantrey. The venerable John Mousley, the first Archdeacon of Madras, and Dr. Daniel Corrie, the first Anglican Bishop of Madras, have also got memorials within the

Church. Bishop Gell, one of the successors of Dr. Corrie and Bishop Caldwell, the famous missionary and Tamil scholar, have got also monuments erected within the Church. And in the adjacent burial-ground, are the remains of several equally eminent men who have no monuments within.

St. Andrew's Kirk built

The Scotchmen resident in Madras were not behind the Anglicans in their zeal for church-building. From the beginning of the 18th century there was a regular succession of Scotchmen in the Company's service, including two Scotch Governors. In 1815, a Scotch minister was appointed to the Presidency; and Major De Havilland who had now become Chief Engineer, constructed St. Andrew's Kirk in the Poonamallee Road in the years 1818-21 with the warm support of Government and the influential Scotch people in the settlement. The Kirk was opened for service in 1821 and was for long regarded as the "noblest Christian edifice in Hindustan."

It is situated in a very central spot of the City and has got a stately appearance characterised by general lightness. It is a domed building, the dome running upwards on ribs proceeding from columns of stone. The dome is said to be unique, being a structure of masonry without beam or lintel. It forms the body of the Church and is supplemented with chambers on the east and west and a portico to the westward. The steeple is to the west and stands on a tower very much like of St. George's Cathedral. The aisles are paved with marble; and this adds to the effect given by the finely polished pillars.

The tall spire and the central dome of the Kirk were anomalies to Grecian architecture; but the Church is a fine object seen from any point with a free foreground. The steeple was struck by lightning in 1867 and the belfrey much damaged.

About the same time, *i.e.*, after the Scotch Kirk was built, several other churches were built, including the large Wesleyan Chapel in Broadway and St. Matthias' Church at Vepery. The Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan began their educational and evangelic operations in the city in the

early years of the 19th century. The St. Matthias' has been deemed to be of the "humphy-dumphy" Gothoid architecture. In former days it was known as the New Mission Church at Vepery: the old one, Admiral Boscawen's gift, having been sacrilegiously pulled down.

Munro's death (July, 1827)

Governor Munro was anxious to return to England in 1827. The climate was telling upon him. He decided to pay a farewell visit to the Ceded Districts of which he was very fond. Cholera seized him at Pattikonda; and he died after two days of illness. It is said that a few days before his death he had a warning of his approaching end. While riding through a narrow gorge, where the Papaghni breaks through the hills, Munro suddenly looked up at the steep cliffs above, and then said, 'What a beautiful garland of flowers they have stretched across the valley!' His companions all looked, but said they could see nothing. 'Why, there it is, 'all made of gold!' Again they looked, and saw nothing: but one of his old native servants said, 'Alas! a great and good man will soon die!'

Munro was buried first in the English grave-yard at Gooty. In April 1831 his remains were removed to Madras and interred just in front of the Governor's pew in the Fort Church where a mural tablet and a bust of him were erected by his widow. A grove of trees was planted where he died. A well and a large choultry were constructed at Gooty; and a full length portrait of the Governor by Sir Martin Shee was hung in that Choultry. Public subscriptions made to his memory enabled the construction of an equestrian statue of Munro which was the work of Sir Francis Chantrey; and in 1839 it was erected on a lofty pedestal in one of the most conspicuous spots in the Island.

XVI

A PERIOD OF RAPID PROGRESS (1827—59)

The Governorship of S. R. Lushington (1827—1832)

ON the sudden death of Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Henry Sulivan Graeme became the acting Governor for a few months, till Mr. Stephen Rumbold Lushington who was in Parliament and a member of the Privy Council, tock up the Governorship permanently. Lushington was formerly in the Madras Civil Service wherein he served as Secretary to the Board of Revenue and as Private Secretary to his father-in-law, Lord Harris, who was the Commander-in-Chief at the time of the last Mysore war. He left the Company's service in 1807, entered Parliament in the same year, rose to be the Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons and was Joint Secretary of the Treasury in 1824-27. He was Governor for five years and re-entered Parliament even after his retirement from the Governorship. He wrote a life of his father-in-law, Lord Harris, and lived to a ripe old age.

The Madras Club started (1832)

It was during the Governorship of Mr. Lushington that the Madras Club was started. It is the finest residential European club in India. About the Madras Club which has been maintaining its pre-eminence successfully, the following remarks made by an acute observer, are worth perusal.—"Madras being the Headquarters of Headquarters, the Madras Club is naturally the Ace of Clubs. It is said to be the best Club in India, and the Civilian can well believe that it is; you can lose yourself in it three or four times running, and parts of it are still believed by some to be unexplored. The Civilian thinks it is the only Club in the Presidency which is a convenience and not an institution or a duty; and that is only because it is so large that nobody knows or cares whether you are there are not."—(pp. 51-2 of the *Civilian's South India* by "Civilian," 1921).

Progress of Education

In 1830 the Court of Directors sent a despatch to the Madras

Government bringing to their notice the urgency of providing education of a higher order than that obtaining in their schools; and they suggested the widening of the scope of the Presidency School. They wanted to place within the reach of the higher classes instruction in the English language and in European literature and science, "so as not only to improve the intellectual and moral condition of the people, but also to train a body of natives qualified to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration of the country." A similar attempt had been made with great success at Calcutta; but neither the Madras Government, nor the Board of Public Instruction, could carry out the recommendations of the Court, largely owing to the difficulty of securing competent men as teachers. It was only in 1834, on the eve of Macaulay's famous minute and Lord William Bentinck's noteworthy despatch, that the Madras Board of Public Instruction drew up a fairly elaborate scheme and proposed to open an additional English school at the Presidency and to increase the number of *tahsildari* schools, besides introducing an improved series of class-books. This, however, did not answer the chief object of the Court of Directors who wanted candidates to be instructed in the higher branches of European literature and science, in order that they might be employed in the various departments of the public service. This scheme was referred to the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal for improvement, just when Macaulay was drafting his famous minute. Though the latter scheme had only direct reference to education in Bengal, it was not without its effect on education in Madras as well. As a result of the recommendations of the Bengal Board, the Madras Government resolved to abolish the *tahsildari* and Collectorate schools and to entrust all the affairs of education to a new board, called the Committee of Native Education and consisting of five officials. This Committee was called upon to recommend measures for the starting of four English schools in the "suburbs" of Madras and for the establishment of normal

Committee of Native Education

classes for teachers in English. The latter recommendation was vetoed by the Committee on the ground that it was premature and there were not possibly many Indian youths who were capable of profiting by a college education,—or to express it more definitely,—"who were capable of writing half a dozen sentences of idiomatic English on a given subject or of reading a page of Milton with intelligence." They proposed to start the four suburban elementary English schools each of which was to have a European head-master with a salary of Rs. 130 and a house rent allowance of Rs. 20 and half of the school-fees besides.

The Governorship of Sir F. Adam and of G. E. Russell (1832—1837)

In 1832, Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Adam, K.C.B., who was in command of a brigade at Waterloo and had served as High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, became the Governor. He was in office for very nearly his full term of five years and was followed immediately by Mr. George Edward Russell, a member of the Civil Service, for the short period of two days till the arrival of the next permanent Governor, Lord Elphinstone. Mr. Russell had made his name famous as the Commissioner who enquired into the causes of disturbances in Ganjam and Vizagapatam. He restored tranquillity in those regions and later succeeded in quelling further disturbances in Gumsur in 1836. Mr. Russell's arrangements for the administration of the disturbed areas were very satisfactory. The name given to the new cantonment in Gumsur where a regiment was stationed was that of Russellkonda or "Russell's Hill." Russellkonda is the chief town of the Gumsur Taluq, and one of the prettiest spots in India.

The Rule of Lord Elphinstone (1937—1842)

Russell was followed by Lord Elphinstone, a nephew of Mountstuart Elphinstone, who succeeded to the Governorship at the very early age of thirty. The period of his rule was a very

uneventful one and was only marked by the encouragement of the custom of resorting to the Nilgiri Hills for the hot weather. The Nilgiri Hills came to be discovered, as it were, by Mr. J. Sullivan who was then the Collector of Coimbatore; he reported on their temperate and healthy climate to the Board of Revenue, and confirmed the accounts wich had been previously given of the region by Messrs. Whish and Kindersley. Sir Thomas Munro was the first Governor to visit the region and mentioned Ootacamund in a letter to his wife. Mr. Sullivan visited Ootacamand in 1819 and was probably the discoverer of it. Stone-House was believed to have been built in 1821, perhaps a year later, and certainly made habitable by 1823. It was the property of Mr. Sullivan and was later made over to the Commandant of Ootacamund. It was used for a number of years as a European school and was taken possession of by Government only in 1869. It was in the time of Sir Thomas Munro that the Nilgiris first came to be visited by the Governor of the Province. There was then pending the question of the utilisation of the hills as a sanatorium for the troops. Mr. Lushington took special care to provide accommodation for invalids and frequently visited the region. Sir Frederick Adam spent, on one occasion, a number of months in the district. Lord Elphinstone took with him to Ootacamand the Secretaries to Government and their assistants. The innovation by Lord Elphinstone evidently scandalised the Supreme Government, as a Secretary to that body wrote on the 1st of April 1840, as follows:—

Ootacamand becomes the summer resort

"I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council to express the hope that the Government of Fort St. George will not be kept at so great a distance from Madras any longer than shall be necessary, inasmuch as the objections of the Home authorities to the separation of the Governor from his Council, and to the absence of the Governor from the seat of his Government, and 'from the scene of the great business which he is appointed to transact' have, in the estimation of his Lordship in Council, an increased

force in the present position of the Madras Government." "This remonstrance of the Government of India got the reply from Lord Elphinstone that the exodus to the Hills was a matter of necessity and that, so far from separating the Governor from his Council, it was a means of reuniting all the members of the Government of Fort St. George then in India. The Supreme Government did not continue the topic; but the Court of Directors, replying to the letter of the Madras Government wrote: "The removal of the seat of Government is contrary to law, and it must, immediately on receipt of this despatch, be brought back to the Presidency and not remove again." They further expressed the hope that, in obedience to repeated injunctions on the subject, neither the Governor nor any of the Civil Members of Council would in future absent themselves from the Presidency, except in cases of the "most urgent indispensable necessity," and that whenever such urgency might "unfortunately" arise, a prompt report of the particulars might be made. No other notice appears to have been taken, for the time being, (by Lord Elphinstone) of this communication beyond a very brief order, dated 29th September, stating that as the Governor and Members of the Council were about to return to Madras, a notification would issue in the *Gazette* that the business of Government would be conducted there, from the 15th October. The promised move was, however, not made. This seems to have—and justly too, roused the ire of the Directors, for, on the 3rd February 1841, they sent another despatch pointing out that, "although two mails had gone forward since the receipt of their previous letter, no reply to it had reached them, and that although the *Gazette* had contained the notification alluded to above, this had not taken effect, as up to the latest date of advices received—19th November—neither the Governor nor either of the Members of the Council had returned to the capital." The despatch wound up with a very sharp rebuke of the neglect to send a reply to its predecessor and obey the injunctions which it conveyed, and intimated that

instructions were being sent to the Supreme Government to see that this kind of thing did not occur again. The Government (of Lord Elphinstone) resumed work at Madras on the 8th December 1840, having remained on the Hills for a period of some eight months. It was not until two and a half months after the first despatch of the Directors was received (22nd September 1849) that Lord Elphinstone wrote a very long minute "traversing the assertion that the move of Government to the Hills was illegal, and justifying the action taken, on the score that remaining at Madras would have involved a general breakdown of the administrative machinery." This was forwarded, *in extenso,* to the Court, on the 22nd December, with a brief covering letter. The despatch of the 3rd February was answered towards the close of March, the excuse offered for delay in returning to Madras being the necessity for allowing time for the journey of the establishment and records, the ill-health of the Governor and one Member of Council, and the resignation of another, who, it may be remarked, did not send this in until the 1st November. The replies of the Directors were of the curtest, and informed the Governor and his Council that the advice taken by them as to the legal question was such as to leave no doubt touching the correctness of their opinion, that they relied upon the strictest attention in future to the instructions conveyed in the despatches of July 1840 and February 1841. With this snub, the correspondence terminated. Although the Governor and his Council received a severe rebuke, they may fairly be said to have gained much the better of the matter, for they had, as a set-off against the reprimand, the substantial consolation of having, by their prolonged residence on the Hills, escaped the discomforts and heat of a summer on the plains." (pp. 47-8, *Ootacamund: A History* by Sir Frederick Price, K.C.S.I., 1908).

Such was the ugly controversy over the acceptance of the "Queen of Hill Stations in India" as a summer resort of the Local Government.

Educational Progress under Elphinstone

We saw that Government resolved to start four elementary English schools consequent on the recommendation of the Committee of Native Education which was appointed by the Government of Sir Frederick Adam. This new Committee recommended the immediate establishment of a normal school and a college at Madras. No notice was, however, taken by the Government of these proposed measures until Lord Elphinstone issued his famous minute in December 1839, which is printed *in extenso* in the Second Part of "Selections from Educational Records, 1840-1859," edited by Mr. J. A. Richey, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, and published by the Bureau of Education, India (1922) in continuation of First Part edited by Mr. Sharp.

The High School started (1841)

Lord Elphinstone proposed in his minute: (1) the establishment at Madras of a Collegiate Institution or University having a curriculum including, literature, philosophy and science, and (2) a High Schools which was to be a department of the University and to which only boys able to read and write English intelligibly are to be admitted. The High School was to teach English literature, vernacular languages and elementary science and philosophy. The High School was opened in April 1841, with nearly 70 boys on its rolls, though the college was not fully organised until 1853. The highest classes of the High School were soon receiving a thorough English education. For the improvement of education in the province, Lord Elphinstone proposed to establish superior English schools at a few mofussil centres with the hope that they might ultimately develop into colleges. And, in order to carry out his scheme, he superseded the short-lived Committee of Native Education by a University Board (1841) which was eclipsed for a few years (1845-47) by a Council of Education. Nor was the Council itself destined to flourish for long. It was replaced by a Board of Governors in 1851;

Formation of the University Board (1841)

and three years later all educational activities came to be vested in the Department of Public Instruction newly created.

The University Board of Lord Elphinstone was presided over by George Norton, then Advocate-General, who laboured very much for the cause of western education in the Presidency. The Court of Directors communicated their general approval of the scheme of the Governor, though they expressed a mild wish that they were unwilling to forego any measures calculated to encourage the previous Collectorate and Tahsil schools. In a subsequent despatch dated September 1842, they sanctioned the opening of four provincial schools together with the rules for their management by local committees. But the schools were not opened, as it was found impossible to secure any competent headmaster on the pay sanctioned. In the next year, the President of the University Board drew the attention of the Government to the unsatisfactory condition of the Madras High School and urged the necessity of opening collegiate classes, one of medicine and another of engineering with a view to extending the scope of the institution. He also recommended that the provincial schools be manned by headmasters recruited from England preferably and that in order to encourage the educational institutions an educational test for all candidates for Government service be introduced.

The new Light-House erected (1842)

It was also during the Governorship of Lord Elphinstone that the Light-House was opened for use on the 1st of January 1841. Previously the light was exhibited from a wooden building erected on the top of the old Exchange in the Fort. The new Light-House was a handsome granite structure in the form of a Grecian Doric column standing on a cubic pedestal above massive steps of stone. The corners of the steps are covered by four flanking buttresses which, though apparently solid, contain apartments. The Light-House was one hundred and twenty feet from the ground to the vane. The lantern was a twelve-sided polygon and the light was reflected from parabolic reflectors, which made

the beam gradually increase in illuminating power and then diminish as light revolved. It was abandoned, but not pulled down, when a new light-house tower was erected in the new High Court Buildings.

The Madras Mint re-organised (1841)

The Mint was re-organised at this time, and came to be located in what is now known as the Mint Building at the northern end of the Salai or Mint Street.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Madras Mint was located in the Fort and was entirely under the management of Indian artisans; and the making of the coins was done by means of contract with one Linga Chetti. The coining was of a very simple kind. About 1804 a number of accidents took place in the Powder Mills which stood upon the present site of the Mint Buildings. It was resolved to remove the mills altogether beyond the walls of Black Town and to erect a new mint on the site. The Mint Buildings were complete by 1807; but the machinery was not perfect. It was only gradually, by the exertions of Dr. Bannister who assisted the Mint Master, that the apparatus for laminating and melting was improved. Bannister retired from the Mint in 1841 as Assay Master and died shortly afterwards. In 1833 when it was found difficult to coin the new currency bearing the effigy of the English Sovereign, a proposal was made to abolish the Madras Mint and to supply the Madras currency from the mint at Calcutta. From 1836 to 1841 the Mint did not work; but in the latter year it was re-opened and placed in charge of Dr. Bannister and of Captain Smith, when the former officer retired on account of illness. The Mint affairs were managed by a committee of three civilians and a secretary. The Mint coined private bullion in silver. After some experiment the single anna silver coin was given up.

The progress of institutions for professional and technical education which were started in this period may also be noted at this stage of our narrative.

The High School was first under the control of the University Board which contemplated the opening of medicine and engineering classes in addition to the literary classes. A School of Industrial art was established privately by one, Dr. Hunter, in 1850. It was taken over by Government five years later and was fostered into great usefulness by Mr. Chisholm, who was for long the Government Architect. It is the present School of Arts.

The School of Industrial Art (1850)

The Civil Engineering College which was for long located in the Chepauk Buildings and has been recently transferred to spacious premises in Guindy, was established in 1834 as a Government Survey School for training men for service in the Revenue Department. In 1859 it was developed into a Civil Engineering School to meet the requirements of the Public Works Department; and three years later, it was raised to a College by the addition of a senior department for the supply of engineers to Government.

The Engineering College (1834)

The Madras Medical College was started in 1835 under the designation of the Madras Medical School. Its object was to afford means of instruction in medicine and surgery to Eurasian (or Anglo-Indian) and Indian youths who were desirous of entering the subordinate branch of the Medical Service. In 1851 the complement of professors being complete, the name of the institution came to be altered to that of the Madras Medical College. The College was under the control of the Medical Board. It was equipped with a chemical laboratory and a dissecting room. Pupils qualifying for employment as hospital assistants, were transferred to the Royapuram Auxiliary Medical School which was established in 1877 to meet a deficiency in the stength of the subordinate medical service during the great Madras famine of that epoch.

The Medical College (1835)

To revert back to Lord Elphinstone's scheme of a collegiate institution :—The Governor created, in accordance with his proposals, a Central Collegiate Institution or University as it was called, at the Presidency which was to be divided

into two departments on the plan then followed in Scotch Universities; *viz.*, a High School for the cultivation of English literature and the vernacular languages as well as elementary philosophy and science; and a College for the higher branches of literature, philosophy and science. This was to be supplemented by the starting of superior schools at some provincial towns (known as Provincial or Zillah Schools) which were to be connected with the Madras University by the establishment of fellowships in the latter institution for their more advanced students. The so-called Madras University was to be under the control of a University Board with Mr. George Norton, who did so much for the starting of Pachaiyappa's College, as its first President. In 1840 these proposals were adumbrated and the Board was constituted. The High School department of the University was opened in April 1841, with Mr. E. B. Powell, a noted Wrangler of Cambridge, as its Head Master. Both Mr. Norton and Lord Elphinstone dwelt, in their speeches on the occasion of the opening ceremony, on the advantages of a liberal education to the Indians and on the importance of the intellectual cultivation of the superior classes. There was also to be started a Preparatory School to prepare students for admission to the High School. But some difficulty was experienced in persuading scholars to enter its higher classes, one reason of their unwillingness being the high rate of fees charged, *viz.*, Rs. 4 per month. For some years the progress of the High School was very slow; but gradually the number of scholars rose; and several of its students attained to a high degree of proficiency in literature and science.

The work of the High School or The University

Private effort in the field of higher education, both missionary and indigenous, had its own fruits. In 1837, John Anderson, a missionary of the Church of Scotland, opened in George Town what was known as the General Assembly's School which, under the fostering care of his successors, particularly of the great Dr. Miller (whose statue in the Esplanade overlooks the

The Christian and Pachaiyappa's Colleges (1837-42)

block of buildings associated with that institution), has developed into its present magnificent proportions and great usefulness. It is now known as the Madras Christian College; and its collegiate department was recently shifted to a spacious campus and a magnificent set of buildings in the suburban village of Tambaram, the terminus of the electric railway service of the South Indian Railway.

The pioneer of non-missionary educational institutions under private agency was started by a board of Hindu trustees administering the charitable endowments left by Pachaiyappa, a pious Madras merchant of the 18th century; and the institution at first imparted free education to the poor classes of the Hindu community and served as a sort of feeder to the Government High School. It has since grown into large proportions and is now coaching students for the B.A. and Honours examinations of the Madras University; and its collegiate department will be shortly shifted from its present congested location in the heart of George Town to the spacious grounds of its hostel in Chetput.* John Anderson should be rightly

* The first steps in the growth of Pachaiyappa's Institution are detailed below as they show clearly the atmosphere in which the Hindu community first took to English education. The earliest records of the College show that the first meeting of the Trustees of Pachaiyappa's Charities constituted under decree of the Supreme Court was held on the 9th October 1841, under the chairmanship of V. Raghava Chariar, their first President, in which they resolved to rent the house formerly occupied by the Hindu Literary Society near the Guzili Bazaar for their office; and a Secretary and a Clerk were also to be appointed. At their second meeting, held on the 2nd November succeeding, they resolved that three of their number, C. Srinivasa Pillai, Chocappa Chettiar and L. Venkatapathi Naidu, "be requested to select a building either by purchase or rent in Popham's Broadway or Armenian Street at Black Town, most suitable and convenient to accommodate 300 pupils for the establishment of a large school." Meanwhile, the members of the Auxiliary Hindu Literary Society at Cuddalore solicited that an English and three Tamil schools be established in the name of Pachaiyappa Mudaliar, out of the allotment made for the Chidambaram temple charities; In their third meeting held on the 7th December, 1841, they resolved that "a large school be founded on the 1st of January next" and also that "a number of boys who were the descendants of respectable families and are in distressed condition and unable to pay the school fee be, on the approbation of the Trustees, sent to the Madras University—where they are to be instructed and denomi-

regarded as the pioneer of higher education in our presidency, considering that the High School of the University was established in 1841, and Pachaiyappa's Central Institution was started only a year later.

The rule of the Marquis of Tweeddale (1842—1848), *of Sir Henry Pottinger* (1848—1854) *and of Lord Harris* (1854—1859)

The next Governor after Lord Elphinstone was the Marquis of Tweeddale, Knight of the Thistle and a soldier who had seen considerable service and subsequently rose to be a Field-Marshal. He continued in office till the beginning of 1848 when Mr. Henry Dickinson became the acting incumbent of the Governorship for a few weeks, after which Major-General Sir Henry Pottinger, also a soldier of eminence, assumed the Governorship. Pottinger had served in the Bombay Army and undertaken missions to Sind and Baluchistan. He was the Political Agent

nated "Patcheapah's Pupils, Scholars and Students" and "their school-fee be paid from the charity fund." Besides this, the Trustees had resolved to educate, at their cost, a number of deserving youths in the High School of the University. The number of boys to be sent for instruction to the Madras High and Preparatory Schools as Patcheapah's Scholars and Pupils was first fixed at 20 to the former and 40 to the latter. A joint committee consisting of the President and two members of the University Board and two members of the Trust Board was to make proper arrangements for the constitution of the conditions of the scholarships and the selection of the scholars. The School first called "Patcheapah Moodaliar's Preparatory School" was located in Popham's Broadway; and among the first applicants for the posts of teachers we find such names as "V. Venkatesa Sastry, T. Audenarayana Moodaliar, Vyacurnah Ramanoojah Charloo, Karalapauty Rangiah, C. Arumooga Moodaliyar, P. Chinniah, C. Sabaupaty Moodaliar, N. Casavaloo Naidu, Veerasawmy Chettiar and C. Luchmanah Charloo." The pay bill of the school establishment for the first month (January 1842) amounted to Rs. 137-4-0; and the rent of the school-house was Rs. 20. The names of the first Patcheapah's Scholars and Pupils admitted to the High School of the University which ought to excite our interest were "Runganadam, Shadagopah Charry, Hurry Sunker, Narasinga Charloo, G. Auzappah, G. Raujagopaul, N. Seshachellum, M. Shunmoogum Veloo, M. Sooboo Venkatachellum, C. Arumoogum, W. Seshachellum and P. Audenarayaniah." The present Pachaiyappa's Hall was built in 1850 and opened by the then Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger. The Hall was modelled on the Athenian Temple of Theseus, in the style which was then popular in Madras.

in Sind and was made a Baronet for his services in the First Afghan War. He went to China in 1841 as envoy and made the Nanking Treaty of Peace in 1842. He was raised to the Privy Council and appointed Governor of Hong-Kong and of the Cape of Good Hope, successively, before he became the Governor of Madras. He resigned from the Governorship in 1854 and died two years later. He was followed by Lord Harris who ruled till 1859. He was a grandson of General Harris and was the Governor of Trinidad before he came to Madras.

Abolition of the Titular Nawabship of the Carnatic (October 1855)

The most remarkable political event in the period of rule of these Governors was the abolition in 1855 of the Nawabship of the Carnatic which had an immediate bearing on the fortunes of Madras. The Nawab was deprived of his dominions in 1801 in the time of Lord Clive; The rightful heir to the dignity was set aside in favour of Azim-ud-daula, a collateral relation, on the ground that the former did not comply with the conditions imposed upon him. Nawab Azim-ud-daula died in 1819 and was followed on the *musnud* by his eldest son, Azam Jah. The latter was informed that, as the treaty of 1801 did not stipulate that the rank and dignity of the Nawab should be hereditary in the family of Azim-ud-daula, his succession depended on the pleasure of the Supreme Government. The treaty of 1801 was not renewed. The installation of Nawab Azam Jah was delayed for six months. Azam Jah died in 1825 and after an interval of five weeks Muhammad Ghaus Khan who was a mere infant was proclaimed by the Madras Government as his successor. In 1829 Prince Azim Jah, the uncle of the Nawab and a son of Azim-ud-daulah, was recognised as the next heir, "in case of the Nawab's demise." In 1843 the Government of Lord Tweeddale caused Prince Azim Jah to be declared to be the first in the list of persons exempted from judicial process, "in consideration of the position he had lately occupied in communication with the British Government and that which he holds in relation to His Highness the Nawab, and to his succession to the Musnud."

Strangely enough, on the death of Nawab Muhammad Ghaus, Lord Harris, the then Governor of Madras, and Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, combined together and took up the startling position "that Prince Azim Jah had no right at all to the title of Nawab; and that as the treaty of 1801, by which the throne of the Carnatic was conferred upon the predecessor of the late Nawab, was *purely a personal one*, as the latter had left no male heir and as both he and his family had disreputably abused the dignity of their position and the large share of the public revenue which had been allotted to them, the Court of Directors had been advised to place the title of 'Nawab' in abeyance, but to grant fitting pensions to the several members of the Carnatic family." Several reasons were assigned as justifying the decision of Government. But Prince Azim Jah was the heir alike by Muhammadan and Hindu laws. Azim Jah obstinately pressed his claims and would not consent to sink into oblivion.

John Bruce Norton* was a member of a most distinguished family which had been closely connected with Madras for several generations and one of the commissioners appointed to inquire into and report on the evils that existed in the system of Madras Judicature in 1859, the recommendations of which led to the foundation of the Madras High Court. He subsequently became the first Crown Prosecutor of Madras and Advocate-General (1863-71). Norton maintained that Nawab Muhammad Ghaus had lived, indeed like many other princes of the land, a life of sensuality and extravagance; but his conduct was never of " a quality approximating to what would justify such a punishment as this inflicted on him and his heirs", and that "indeed we might just as reasonably have refused to allow the heirs of George IV to succeed him on account of his irregular habits and his extravagance." Prince Azim Jah had always lived a life of respectability. He

* He was the son of Sir John David Norton, a Judge of the Madras Supreme Court, a warm supporter of Indian interests and education and a patron of Pachaiyappa's Institution.

put forward, immediately on his nephew's death, an application for the vacant musnud. The Madras Government was very polite to him and sympathised greatly with the widow of the late Nawab, Khair-un-nissa Begum Sahiba, but warned the Diwan of the Nawabi not to recognise a successor. This action of Government was condemned in the strongest terms, as we saw, by Mr. Norton who was emphatic as to the injustice of the ground on which Lord Dalhousie claimed that the treaty of 1801 between the British Government and the Nawab Azim-ud-daula was "exclusively a personal one" because it was made only with him and not with his "heirs and successors."

Loyalty of the Madras Muslims during the mutiny

John Bruce Norton maintained very boldly that the possibility of disaffection and rebellion in Madras in the crisis of 1857 was greatly lessened by the loyal attitude of Prince Azim Jah. Major Evans Bell corroborates the value of the Prince's loyalty* and the services that he rendered in keeping at peace and in quiet the Mussalman population of Triplicane where the Nawab's family had long settled. Bell goes so far as to say that the considerations for the retention of the Nawabship at that epoch were so urgent and insistent that he concludes:—" I am distinctly of opinion that if there had been no Nawab of the Carnatic, we ought to have invented one. A prince so situated, residing at one of the great centres of our power, with so much to lose and so little to expect from any disturbance, could not be anything but conservative in politics and moderate in religion and in a time of religious revival or excitement he could be held responsible for the manner in which he made use of his influence." †

* See *The Empire in India* by E. Bell (new ed. by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1935)—Letter V—(pp. 137-8).

† The Administration Report of the Madras Government for 1861-62 declared that Azim Jah's claim was finally rejected. But the Prince continued to press it on the attention of the authorities; and Major Bell who was at that time in Madras, as well as men of his way of thinking, advised the Prince not to look upon this decision as final, nor to abandon or compromise those rights which had been secured to the Wallajah family "by four solemn treaties and ratified

The Chepauk Palace acquired by the Government

In 1855, on the death of the last titular Nawab of the Carnatic, Ghulam Muhammad Ghaus, Government resolved to abolish the title and to pension the next heir to it. The Nawab's military forces were disbanded and all the buildings and land occupied by him in Chepauk were sold by public auction and acquired by Government. The Chepauk Palace came to be utilised for the accommodation of the Board of Revenue and the P. W. D. Secretariat; and the grounds to the west of it were allotted as playing-fields; while the Government House compound was added to largely on its east.

The grounds of the Chepauk Palace extended from the mouth of the Cooum to the Pycroft's Road and on the west as far as Bell's Road. The whole enclosure was surrounded by a wall

by the autograph letters of four British Sovereigns." The Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood, was again and again pressed to confer the title of Nawab on Azim Jah. The Home Government, when Mr. Vernon Smith was President of the Board of Control, had confirmed the decision arrived at by Lords Harris and Dalhousie. Sir Charles was now told by his official advisers that if he should grant the request, "he would have reversed the decisions of Lord Clive, Lord Wellesley, Lord Dalhousie and Lord Harris and would have entailed on India the mischief of more royal puppets whose ancestral names and dynastic traditions made them often the rallying points of disaffection and treason." Sir Algernon West, Private Secretary to Sir Charles Wood and, later, to the Marquis of Ripon, declared that these appeals were founded on "erroneus grounds and inaccurate statements." Sir Charles Wood, while declining to disturb the decision of the Court of Directors, carefully abstained from upholding that decision on its intrinsic merits. Finally, owing to increasing pressure, he had to raise Prince Azim Jah's allowance to Rs. 150,000 a year and also to consent to recognise his position as that of the "First Nobleman" of the Carnatic. The title of the Prince of Arcot was conferred on Prince Azim Jah and his descendants in 1887 by the Queen's Letter Patent, dated 2nd August 1887; the Prince was given the title of *Amir-i-Arcot* (or Prince of Arcot) with succession to his four sons and one grandson who was to be selected by Her Majesty the Queen. The Prince and his successors in title were exempted from the jurisdiction of the civil courts. The title and honours and the perpetual portion of the pension assigned to the family should be continued only to a representative in the male line of Prince Azim Jah; but the succession was in the first instance to go to the four sons of Azim Jah in such order as he might fix. It is gratifying to note that, recently, the title of His Highness was conferred on the present Prince of Arcot, Sir Ghulam Muhammad Ali Khan Bahadur, G.C.I.E.

and the main entrance was a massive triple-arched gateway on the Wallajah Road near the present residence of the Private Secretary to H. E. The Governor. There were guard-rooms and the *naqqur khana* above the gateway and a place of arms within it. The main palace consisted of two blocks, the southern called the Kalsa Mahal, so called from its small domes and the northern, called the Humayun Mahal and the Diwan Khana the last of which contained the Durbar Hall. Kalsa Mahal is now part of the P. W. D. Secretariat buildings; and the northern structures accommodate the offices of the Board of Revenue. The tower between the two was later on added by the British Government. Within the enclosure there were barracks for sepoys, elephant stables etc.; and a saluting battery was situated on the site of the present Senate House. The residence of the Principal of the Presidency College was the court of justice. The "Marine Villa", recently demolished to provide the site for the University Library and Administrative Buildings, was known as the Nawab's Octagon and doubtless served as a bathing pavilion at the mouth of the Cooum which was then, comparatively, free-flowing.

The Madras Army and the Mutiny

In the time of the Governorship of Lord Harris the Indian Mutiny shook Hindustan and endangered British dominion for the time being. Fortunately the Presidency of Madras was free from the contamination of the Mutiny. Lord Harris very closely co-operated with Lord Canning, the Governor-General. Their friendship dated from their boyhood days; the antecedents of Lord Harris were colonial; and he found in Madras a greatly suitable field for his talents of administration. The Madras sepoys had, indeed, been greatly discontented about 1841 and two regiments were actually about to refuse to embark for the China War then pending. A few years later, the Marquis of Tweeddale had to promise them extra allowances at the rates laid down for service in Burma when they were ordered to go for service to Sind. But now several causes contributed to keep the Madras Army loyal to the British power. Mr. Hovell-

Thurlow, a contemporary writer and very sympathetic to the Indian aspirations of the time, thus explains the loyalty of the Madras sepoys:—" Not only were they of lower caste and less open to religious impulse than the sepoys of the other Presidencies—not only had they known us longest and watched with envy our successive conquests over the warlike races of more northern India, to whose hard terms they had so often bent—but they, and they alone, had, owing to their maritime position, full opportunities of judging of our vast resources. Yet the fact that the nature of this people is not prone to mutiny, does not detract from the credit due to Lord Harris, who, knowing them as a ruler should his subjects, turned his knowledge to the best account, and, by dismantling his own Presidency of both guns and men, enabled Lord Canning and Lord Clyde to reconquer Northern India. (Page 26, *The Company and the Crown,* (1925 *edition*).

John Bruce Norton deplored Lord Harris's concurrence with the Governor-General in the matter of the abolition of the Nawabship of the Carnatic and the Raj of Tanjore. He says that he was bound hand and foot by the Supreme Government which rendered nugatory all his best considered projects for reform. Greater success attended his educational efforts; and to it we will now turn our attention.

Development of the High School

The University Board which was originally started by Lord Elphinstone in 1841 was reorganised by Sir Henry Pottinger in 1852, and started its work with a comprehensive minute dated 2nd July 1852, " not only for promoting the successful progress of the institution (High School) under their own immediate charge, but also towards organising other institutions with a view to the more general diffusion of education throughout the Presidency. According to the revised scheme put forward by the Board, provision was to be made for the establishment of a Primary School and a Collegiate Department in the so-called Madras University in addition to the existing High School; and also for the formation of normal classes for training

teachers both in English and in the vernacular languages. The Primary School, which was to serve as a feeder to the High School was to be started, especially as Pachaiyappa's Central School, which had been established a short time before, under the management of an Indian Trust Board, was found inadequate as a feeder. The Collegiate Department was to impart instruction in Literature and Science and four Professors teaching Mathematics and Physical Science, History, Political Economy and Mental and Moral Philosophy, English Literature and Composition and Law respectively, were to be appointed. The recommendations for the starting of Provincial Schools and for giving grants-in-aid were repeated.

Government considered that so far as the starting of the Collegiate Department was concerned, the scheme was premature; but ultimately, under repeated pressure from the Board, the Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, took upon himself the responsibility for sanctioning the entire scheme with the exception of the law class which was referred to the Court of Directors for orders. For some time there was difficulty in filling up the classes both in the High School and in the Collegiate Department; and it was thought that the fee charged, rupees four, was too high. So in 1853 the rate was brought down to two rupees in the College and the High School and one rupee in the Primary School; and "this reduction was followed by the immediate accession of some fifty scholars to the senior department."

The Education Despatch of 1854

The Despatch of 1854 marks a momentous epoch in the history of modern Indian education. It has been described as "the Magna Charta of English Education in India" and "as the Intellectual Charter of India." The Despatch, dated 19th of July 1854, was issued by the Court of Directors and was very lengthy, containing as many as a hundred paragraphs. In his minute on the Despatch, Lord Dalhousie declared that it contained "a scheme of education for all India, far wider and

more comprehensive than the Local or Supreme Government could ever have ventured to suggest." The Despatch embraced within its scope vernacular schools throughout the districts; the improvement and wider extension of education, both European and vernacular; the constitution of a separate Department of Education in all the Local Governments; the starting of Universities at the three Presidencies, to which all educational institutions supported by Government or by private effort might be affiliated; and "above all the glorious measure of grants-in-aid to all schools without reference to caste or creed." The Despatch directed the attention of Government to the importance of placing "the means of acquiring useful and practical knowledge within the reach of the great mass of the people." It declared that English was to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches and the vernacular in the lower ones; English was to be taught wherever there was a demand for it: but it was "not to be substituted for the vernacular languages of the country."

Department of Public Instruction created

The creation of the Department of Public Instruction necessitated the appointment of a Director of Public Intruction, though the Madras Governor was for a Secretary for the Education Department on a par with the Secretaries of the Judicial and Revenue Departments; and Sir A. J. Arbuthnot was the first Director; he rose to be afterwards acting Governor of Madras, and Member of the Supreme Council, as well as Vice-Chancellor of the Madras and Calcutta Universities. He was the author of *Selections from the Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro; Life of Lord Clive*; and a number of articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He re-organised the "University into the Presidency College with a Law Department attached to it and established a Normal School for teachers in 1855-6."

The first important notification of the new Department was that of revised rules for regulating grants-in-aid of approved

private schools and other institutions and was dated 26th August, 1856. Grants-in-aid were only to extend and improve secular education and to be given only to recognised schools with an assurance of permanence.

The starting of the University of Madras (September 1857)

Soon afterwards the University of Madras was incorporated by Act No. XXVII of 1857 of the Legislative Council of India. It had a Senate and four Faculties (Arts, Law, Medicine and Civil Engineering) and conducted from 1857-8, the entrance and B.A. examinations. It aimed at the consolidation of education in the province and was based on the model of the London University. The examinations were to test the possession of knowlegde thoroughly assimilated and recognise it by a degree. The first Senate was appointed and the regulations and bye-laws were drawn up in 1857-8.

A Commission of three persons, of whom John Bruce Norton was one, was appointed by the Government of Madras to make investigations into alleged cases of torture by the revenue officials for collecting arrears and by the police for extorting confessions. The Commission submitted their report in April 1855 and Government acted upon their recommendations and deprived revenue subordinates of their powers of punishing, while the police was reorganised. It is interesting to know that the Commissioners considered that several Indian officials might be safely entrusted with as much power as could be given to any European. They said as follows:—

The Torture Commission of 1854

"It is gratifying to know that among the present there are, and among the rising generation of Hindoos there will be probably many more, who would not look to place as the opportunity of amassing riches by dishonest or oppressive practices; and to whom the liberties and welfare of their fellow-countrymen might be safely committed. Some such there are at the present moment exercising authority with high advantage to the people in the Provinces. Wherever and whenever such men can be

found we would advocate their employment. Our aim is to guard the Natives against themselves, such as they are now."

It is gratifying that in the Presidency City cases of torture by the underlings of Government were altogether absent on account of the fact that the revenue and police officials were entirely different bodies of servants, the former having no police powers whatever and the latter being under the Chief Magistrate who was also the Superintendent of Police for the City. Moreover, the law was too quick and too strong within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the people were too independent to allow torture to prevail. According to the report of an official, the situation was entirely satisfactory in the city. "The Revenue Officers here are in fear of the Police authorities. That they must act as an important check is clear, nor would they permit a Native Revenue Collector to assault any one in their view, even if the party ill-treated did not himself complain; but a still greater preventive is the character of the people themselves, not one of whom would submit to any ill usage, without resenting it on the spot, summoning the party to the Police Office, or, what is still more likely, suing him in the Supreme or Petty Court for damages. We have no evidence before us of torture used by the Police to extort confessions; we know that for some years past the Supreme Court has exercised a wholesome degree of restraint upon the Madras Police; and that the depositions forwarded to the Crown office are comparatively but seldom accompanied by any confession of the prisoner."

The Guindy Government House which had been already acquired, was greatly improved by Lord Elphinstone to whom it owes its present form which is marked by considerable skill and taste. The expenses of its improvement were great. But Elphinstone cared little enough for that. Thus, an eye witness of the events of those years, W. T. Munro, describes the improvements effected by Lord Elphinstone in the Guindy Lodge. "The making of roads was a feature of his administration; especially the grand military road to Bangalore; and

out of the estimate for that, enough might be squeezed to do the needful for Guindy Park. When a private residence, the entry was by a common gateway sou-westward; but the effect was to cause the eye of any visitor to rest on out-houses, and other small buildings; this approach was closed on a new one being made. To effect it, the rock was cut away, to some extent, from a spur of the Little Mount. Thence a broad, and handsome road was formed; running direct, until a curve presented the new Elphinstone façade full in view; the small buildings being skilfully concealed by rapidly growing trees and shrubs. The said façade, and a reception hall were additions to the older mansion.'' (*Madrasiana* (1865)—pp. 78-9).

The Government House, Guindy—improved

Condition of the City about 1855.

A picture of the City, as it was about 1855, is given in *Pharaoh's Gazetteer of Southern India*, published in 1855. It contains some instructive matter about the appearance and special features of the old city.

The Black Town

"The Black Town, or that part of Madras comprehended within the walls, lies very low. It is in some places actually below the level of the sea, against the inroads of which, it was found necessary some years ago, to protect the town by a strong stone bulwark. Three broad streets intersect the town, running north and south, dividing it into nearly four equal parts. They possess an air of respectability, are well built, and contain many terraced upper-roomed dwellings. Among the buildings are the principal European shops, Putchaeappah's Native School, the Commissariat Office, the Jail, the Black Town Male and Female Orphan Schools, Church Mission Chapel, Black Town Church, Wesleyan Chapel, Free Church Mission House, &c. The minor streets, chiefly occupied by the Natives, are numerous, irregular, and of various dimensions. Many of them are extremely narrow and ill-ventilated. The form of these houses resembles that of most of the Native dwellings throughout India: it is a hollow

square, the rooms opening into a court-yard in the centre, which is entered by one door from the street. This effectually secures the privacy so much desiderated by the Natives, but at the same time prevents proper ventilation, and is the source of many diseases. The streets, with few exceptions, have drains on both sides which are deep and narrow, and besides there are three common sewers running from the eastern part of the town towards the sea. The system of drainge, however, is far from perfect, and the fall to the sea very slight.

The water-supply

"Madras is amply supplied with water of a remarkably pure and good quality, from wells varying in depth from 20 to 30 feet. The water obtained from the wells in a certain enclosure near the north, well known as the "Seven Wells," is especially valued for its purity, which is preserved for a length of time at sea. The wells are 10 in number, though some are choked up. Only 2 are in use, and those alone yield 264,000 gallons in 24 hours. Public water works are erected in this enclosure, and two reservoirs have been constructed, one in the Fort, the other midway between the Fort and the Town, which are daily filled from the wells by means of metal pipes."

Plentiful markets

"The markets of Madras are well supplied with beef, mutton, veal, kid, etc., of a fair quality, and at moderate prices. Fowls, capons, ducks, turkeys, geese, etc. are also plentiful. There is an ample supply of excellent fish of different kinds, and vegetables of every variety such as potatoes, turnips, carrots, cabbages, knolkole, beans, greens, sweet potatoes, yams, onions, salad, brinjals, cucumbers, and gourds. Rice and all the other grains of the country are of course abundant. Fruits are likewise plentiful. The mangoes, plantains, pine-apples, custard-apples, oranges, grapes, jack-fruit, and gauvas, are of an excellent quality."

Hotels

"Three respectable family hotels have lately been set up near the Mount Road, and there is a Club which is, from the completeness of its arrangement,

and the economy of its charges, a great accommodation to the residents, and visitors of the town."

Education

"Education has not made the same progress at Madras as at the other Presidencies. A few years ago the University was founded by Lord Elphinstone for the particular advantage of the Hindoos, but it has not been sufficiently made use of by the Natives. This is the more to be lamented and wondered at, because some of the greatest men India ever knew, have so often borne testimony to the invaluable assistance Natives are capable, when educated, of rendering to the State."

Charitable and other institutions

"There is an infirmary for the purpose of receiving and affording medical aid to the Native poor of the Presidency; a General Hospital for the reception of both European and Native sick; a Medical School; a Lunatic Asylum; an Eye Infirmary; a Lying in Hospital; a Male and Female Orphan Asylum (Military); Missionary, Protestant Charity, Free, and Grammar Schools; and Institution for the education of the daughters of Europeans and their descendants; Literary and Horticultural and Native Education Societies; a Polytechnic Institution; Masonic Lodges; Friend-in-Need, and Temperance Societies, etc. There are likewise numerous Religious Societies, founded with the view of diffusing the light of the Gospel among the heathen, and giving religious as well as secular instruction, to many hundreds of East Indian and Native children of both sexes."

European Society in Madras

Social life among the Europeans in Madras has been somewhat sarcastically described by John Bruce Norton incidentally, in the course of his '*A Letter to Robert Lowe, Esq., Joint Secretary of the Board of Control, on the Condition and Requirements of the Presidency of Madras,* (1854). It is as follows:—"Men are all so completely engrossed in the occupations of the hour, that they have neither the time nor the taste for such inquiries; The necessary labours of the day are

so exhausting that in the evening the mind is glad to revive itself by the lightest possible recreations, and the body "plenus Bacchipinguisque ferinae" is consigned to attitudes of repose common only to India and America. Small talk moves in an endless cycle of tittle-tattle, scandal, Mount-Road dust, punkahs, and musquitoes. I have not six time during my residence in India listened to any thing which I would dignify by the name of "conversation"; generally it is fatiguing from its unsupportable sameness,—one does not require, with the thermometer ranging from 84 degrees to 90 degrees, to be informed twenty times a day that the land-wind is very hot, or that the sea breeze is comparatively cool; the musquitoes are very capable of advocating their own cause: and Mount Road dust would redden whiskers and spoil bonnets, even were the fact not nightly chronicled at every dinner-table in Madras: neither can one listen for ever to the hair-breadth escapes of Smith, whose arm the wounded tiger munched; or Jones, on either side whose prostrate body the infuriated elephant dug deep his tusks into the soil; or of Robinson, half whose breech was saved from the searching claws of the too-closely-hugging bear, only by the interposition of the providential mass of "whitey brown" wherewith his shooting jacket pocket was stuffed."

Disappearance of the hookah and the palanquin

The smoking of the hookah which was in vogue among Europeans in the 18th century gradually declined in popularity. In the twenties of the nineteenth century retired Anglo-Indians still took with them to England their hookahs. In 1840 it was still a common enough feature. Twenty years later, according to Colonel Yule, there were only six hookah-smokers in the Madras Presidency. Hookahs were not, however, admitted in the ball-room though they were tolerated in the supper and card rooms and even in the theatre-boxes. The hookah was replaced by the cheroot or cigar which was first used only by the lower orders and whose smell was abominated by some. The palanquin of the better sort was a highly ornamented one with cushions and curtains. "The occupant

reclined at full length, and was often supplied with a specially designed hookah, at which he could puff as he was borne along to business. The 'naulkeen' or 'naulkee' was a further elaboration. The frame was five feet by four, the sides richly carved woodwork, while inside was a chair with pillows. This was carried by eight men. Along with the hookah, the palanquin quickly declined about this time. Thus Madras survived the crisis of the Mutiny and passed on to the sixties and to the Governorship of Sir Charles Trevelyan, (*acc.* March, 1859).

XVII

FORTY YEARS OF MADRAS HISTORY (1860—1900)

Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor (1859—1860)

Lord Harris was followed in the Governorship of Madras by Sir Charles Edward Treveylan, K.C.B., a brother-in-law of Lord Macaulay and a very notable figure in British public life in the middle of the 19th century. Trevelyan had entered the Company's service as early as 1826; and he had been, from the very beginning of his official career, a courageous champion of purity and absolutely fearless; and his early denunciation of his superior, the Resident at Delhi, raised a perfect storm against him, but served as an important step in setting the high standard of purity that has marked the British administration in India. Ultimately, Trevelyan emerged triumphant out of the struggle, through and under the protection of the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, who ordered an inquiry into the affair and, after its outcome in his exoneration, became his patron and friend. Macaulay's sister, Hannah More, became his wife and was largely responsible for his being polished up in manners. Macaulay was Law Member of Council at that time in Calcutta; and soon after he retired, the Trevelyans also returned with him to England and stayed on there contrary to all expectations. Strangely enough, Charles Trevelyan was appointed Assistant Secretary to the British Treasury in January 1840, although it was very unusual then to effect exchanges between the Home and the Company's Services. Trevelyan remained in England for nearly 20 years, occupying a leading position in Whitehall and returned to India in 1859 to take up the Governorship of Madras when the last sands of the life of his famous brother-in-law, Macaulay, were fast running out.

Trevelyan became the Governor of Madras early in 1859. In all respects except one, his administration of Madras was particularly successful. He was deemed to be one of the most

zealous and competent of Indian Governors, and bade fair to rival the services and the popularity of Sir Thomas Munro.

Foundation of the People's Park

With reference to the city of Madras, Trevelyan converted the open Esplanade outside the now-demolished west wall of Black Town into a fine park which has since been known as the People's Park. He also took vigorous measures to build up an effective and sufficient supply of fresh water for drinking purposes; and his name is still associated with the Trevelyan Basin near Elephant Gate, though the Basin itself is no longer used for the original purpose for which it was intended. Trevelyan's rash act in recording in his Council a minute of their difference of opinion from the Governor-General and his Council over the question of the fresh taxation involved in the new budget of Sir James Wilson, the Finance Member of the Government of India, was a breach of administrative custom and propriety, astonishing in so experienced a public servant. The discipline of the service required his recall from the Governorship in May 1860; and the Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood, who was one of his oldest friends and admirers, carefully declared in public documents that Trevelyan's administration of Madras had, in all other respects, been of the greatest service. Trevelyan was recalled; but Wilson had to remodel his budget imposing the income tax. Two years later, Trevelyan was compensated for his temporary disgrace with "a remarkable triumph when Wood and Palmerston sent him out to Calcutta as Financial Member of Council, because the financial views that he had so unwisely made public were found to have been just. His private letters seem to indicate that he never repented of the action that cost him so dear, but which, in his opinion, led to the ultimate triumph of his policy."*

Walter Bagehot thus wrote in the *Economist* of 1862, November 8, of the recall of Trevelyan from the Madras Governorship. "There is but little need to refer to the publica-

* "Sir George Otto Trevelyan; A Memoir": by G. M. Trevelyan (1932)—p. 51.

tion by Sir Charles Trevelyan of the now celebrated Madras despatches, and his consequent recall by the Secretary of State for India. He was then recalled, not for erroneous doctrines in finance, not for a single doctrine which he combated, but for palpable and plain insubordination. There is, and must be, a Supreme Government in India; Mr. Wilson was, for the time, the authorised and recognised organ of that Government, Trevelyan revolted against the policy of Mr. Wilson, and had paid the inevitable penalty.

"The publication of the Madras despatch was a monstrous act of misjudgment and insubordination, but it was only an aggravated outbreak of an inherent disposition. Sir Charles Trevelyan has many eminent qualities,—great acuteness, great industry, an ardent though ill-regulated public zeal,—but he never was a safe man; he never had a sound and simple judgment; from vanity or from some better motive, he has never been very willing to confine himself to his proper sphere, especially when it was a subordinate one. These are the very opposite qualities to those which India requires in the situation to which he has been appointed........"*

Sir H. G. Ward and Sir William Denison (1861-66)

After the retirement of Trevelyan, Sir Henry George Ward, *Kt.*, who had been Governor of Ceylon and helped to send the English troops from that Island to India in the crisis of the Mutiny, was appointed Governor, but died of cholera within a month of his taking charge. A statute of his was erected at Kandy in Ceylon. Then came Col. Sir William Denison, K.C.B., who was in office from February 1861—Mr. W. A. Morehead of the Madras Civil Service having acted in the interval, as also during the interregnum between Trevelyan and Ward—for five years. Denison had been Governor of New South Wales and titular Governor-General of Australia before he came to Madras. He was an army engineer by profession and held very strong views on military questions and did not

* Page 257, *The Servant of All* (1927) by Emilie I. Barrington, Vol. II.

care to conceal at all his unjustly formed and unfavourable estimate of the character of the natives of India. He was strongly opposed to the admission of Indians into the Legislative Councils and even to the establishment of Provincial Legislatures as required by the India Councils Act of 1861.

Some Madras Publicists of the Time.

Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty was the foremost of the Indian publicists of Madras at the time. He had fought several sturdy fights with the European missionaries over their proselytizing practices. He published the *Crescent,* which was possibly the earliest Hindu periodical of Madras and which was issued for the first time in October 1844. The *Crescent* was intended to act as a corrective to the *Record* which was the declared missionary organ. Lakshminarasu Chetty came under the odium of the executive officials of Government who smarted under its scathing criticism and who denied to the *Crescent* the privileges enjoyed by the other newspapers of the day. With the help of the doughty George Norton and John Bruce Norton, Lakshminarasu Chetty successfully defeated an attempt to introduce the Bible as a text-book in Government schools. He also helped to bring to the notice of Parliament the employment of torture in the collection of revenue arrears and the institution of a commission for inquiry into it. He was the chief guiding element in the earliest political association of Madras, the Madras Native Association, which was the forerunner and parent of the Madras Mahajana Sabha. In recognition of the services that he rendered to the people and to the city, Mr. Chetty was made in 1861 a C.S.I.; and two years later he was appointed a Member of the Madras Legislative Council on the death of the Hon'ble Mr. V. Sadagopacharlu, who was the first Indian to be nominated to the newly formed Council of Madras. Another prominent Indian of those days was Mr. C. V. Ranganadha Sastri who rose to be Interpreter in the Supreme Court. He was an efficient master of Sanskrit legal literature and his elucidation of the Dharma Sastra texts

was so very clear that not a single intricate point of Hindu Law was decided without his opinion being taken. He was greatly admired by Sir Christopher Rawlinson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and introduced by him to Governor Trevelyan as the most distinguished Indian in Madras. Sir Charles Trevelyan soon became an ardent admirer of Ranganadha Sastri, invited him frequently to Government House and discussed with him numerous problems concerning the social condition of the Hindus. Mr. Sastri subsequently rose to be Judge of the Small Causes Court. Besides Indian languages, Mr. Sastri had learnt Arabic and Persian. He was so physically well-built and muscularly developed that the formation of his body was a matter of surprise to many an Englishman. He was an ardent admirer of Indian gymnastics; and the firmness with which he sat on the saddle astonished many Englishmen. "As time rolled on, the fund of his knowledge increased proportionately. In every field of knowledge which he entered he walked with giant strides. He came to be lionized wherever he went, and his scholarship was the talk of the day. He enjoyed the confidence of successive Governors, and every one of them treated him with marked consideration. His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos was his sincere admirer, and it was he that induced Ranganadha Sastri to add German to his store of knowledge."*

Among other prominent Madrasis of the time may be mentioned C. V. Rangacharlu, who made a great name for himself in Mysore as the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner and later as the first Diwan of the restored Maharaja; Pundi Runganadha Mudaliar, whose collegiate and professorial career was a most brilliant one and who was famous not only as a teacher but as a public worker; Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar, an eminent publicist who made his best mark some time later; and above all, Sir A. Seshaiyya Sastri. These men formed a most brilliant galaxy of Indian talents, who enriched

* *Representative Indians* by G. Paramesvaran Pillai (2nd edition, 1902): p. 150.

the social and political life of Madras in the latter half of the 19th century.

Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty enlisted the sympathies of John Brighton on behalf of the people of India. He was the earliest public agitator in Madras, as his compeers, Ram Gopal Ghose and Naoroji Furdunji, were in Bengal and Bombay, respectively. His fit successor in the political field was Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar. Among educationists, Runganadha Mudaliar and the well-known T. Gopal Rao stood out very prominently. Not the least service that these people did was the vitalisation of the Indian Press, both English and vernacular, which was subsequently developed by G. Subrahmanya Ayyar, the veteran Congressman, and his colleague, M. Viraraghavacharya, who started and worked up *the Hindu* that soon became a most powerful instrument of public opinion under the watchful guidance and control of the late Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar. Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, though he spent the bulk of his active life away from Madras, and Sir T. Muthuswami Ayyar, the first Indian Judge on the Madras High Court, formed part of this brilliant galaxy that built up Madras traditions in those decades. Sir Madhava Rao belonged to the intellectual type of Diwan Purnayya of Mysore and was greatly the superior of "Wellesley's typical Brahman Minister."

Constitution of the High Court (1861-62)

It was in Sir William Denison's time that the High Court of Madras was created by amalgamating the Supreme and Sudder Courts. Even in 1852-53, a Committee on East India Affairs had opined that it was desirable that the Supreme and Sudder Courts should be consolidated into one in each Presidency so that the legal training of the English lawyers of the former tribunal might be strengthened by the intimate knowledge of the customs, habits and laws of the Indians possessed by the judges and vakils of the Sudder Courts. The jurisdiction and powers of the High Court were to be fixed by Letters Patent. The first charter of the Madras High Court was dated

26th June 1862; and there was a subsequent charter which was issued in 1865. The Supreme Court, however, continued to survive as a distinct branch of the High Court, namely, in its Original Side; and the law or equity which it enforced on that side as also the criminal and admiralty, testamentary and matrimonial jurisdiction were the same as those of the old Supreme Court tribunal. The rules of law, equity and good conscience applied by the Appellate Side of the old High Court which was the successor of the old Sudder Courts were distinct from those of the Original Side.

The Indian Lawyers of the time

Among the Indian lawyers who were famous at the time and who rendered illustrious the Madras High Court, was the Hon'ble Mr. V. Sadagopacharlu, who was a lawyer of remarkable talents. His early death in 1863 cut short a career of great promise which rivalled almost that of his contemporary, Prosanna Comar Tagore of Calcutta, so well known for his great legal erudition and philanthropy. The chain of legal eminence, the first link of which was thus forged by Mr. Sadagopacharlu, has been lengthened and strengthened in the succeeding decades by such legal luminaries as Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar and Sir V. Bashyam Aiyangar in the last century, Mr. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, Sir K. Srinivasa Ayyangar, S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Sir S. Varadachariar and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, besides several others of equal or lesser distinction, who have made the Madras High Court one of the most eminent among Indian tribunals for its juristic acumen and forensic abilities.

Sir William Denison becomes acting Viceroy (Decr. 1863—Jany. 1864)

Sir William Denison was an experienced authority on public works, roads, railways, etc.; while he was Governor of Madras he was summoned to Calcutta on the death of Lord Elgin and acted as Viceroy for six weeks till Sir John Lawrence assumed charge. During his short career as Viceroy, he conducted a campaign

against the Sitana stronghold of Hindustani fanatics. He retired from Madras in March 1866 and wrote several works, including one entitled 'Varieties of Viceregal Life, (1870) besides several essays on social and educational subjects.

Lord Napier Governor (1866-72)

The next Governor was Lord Napier of Merchistoun and First Baron of Ettrick. He was in office for nearly six years and acted as Viceroy, being the senior Governor in India, during the interregnum created by the assassination of Lord Mayo. After him is named one of the public parks in Madras, the Napier Park of Chintadripettah adjoining Mount Road. He specially concerned himself with questions affecting public life and public works including irrigation and such schemes as the Periyar project.

New buildings erected

During the rule of Sir William Denison and Lord Napier, Madras was beautified by the construction of several handsome structures. The Postal and Telegraph Office which is in the Hindu-Saracenic style and occupies a central position on the North Beach Madras, nearly facing the Harbour, was begun in 1874 during the Governorship of Lord Hobart, the successor of Napier. The building was finished only several years later. The Senate House and the Presidency College were structures for the design of which the Madras Government invited open competition by advertisement in 1864. The designs of Mr. R. F. Chisholm were finally accepted; and the designer was subsequently appointed Consulting Architect to the Government of Madras. The Presidency College—it has received subsequent additions on the sides and a separate adjunct to the north—is built in pure Italian style. The building was begun in 1864-65 and completed in 1870-71. The Senate House leans to the Byzantine style and is noted for its huge hall of striking height and proportions raised over a basement floor. It was commenced in April 1874 and was finished five years later. The

Public Works Secretariat Buildings which originally housed the workshops, stores and foundry of the department, were constructed in the years 1864-68 and subsequently added to. The buildings were also subsequently ornamented so as to be in keeping with the Chepauk Palace, the Senate House and the Presidency College, all of which have beautified the sea-face of Chepauk. It was Chisholm that built the stately tower between the Chepauk Palace and the P.W.D. Secretariat.

The first railway line from Madras

Perhaps the author may be allowed at this stage to give a brief note on the earliest railways of the Presidency the headlines of which were built in Madras in this age. On the 8th July 1845 a Madras Railway Company was formed in London, to construct a railway line from Madras to Arcot, otherwise known as Wallajahnagar. A new Company was formed in the place of the old in 1749. Major Pears surveyed the neighbouring country and made a definite proposal in 1851 for a trunk railway from Madras to Minnal, after which station the course of the line was to be guided by the nature of the country. He suggested that the railway should be carried away from Arcot and Vellore through Minnal and Sholingher to Palmanair and thence on *via* Bangalore to Bellary and Bombay, with a branch *via* Ambur to Vaniyambadi. It was decided in 1853 that the line from Madras to Minnal be at once constructed as an experiment. The first sod was turned on the 9th of June 1853. Five years later, the first contract relating to the present South Indian Railway was made for the construction of the line from Negapatam to Trichinopoly. The Madras Railway head-quarters were at Madras; the first section of the line from Madras to Arcot was opened in July 1856; the Bangalore branch was opened eight years later; that to Mettupalayam in 1873 and the line from Arkonam to Raichur in 1871. The doubling of the track from Madras to Perambur was completed in 1874 and its extension to Arkonam was finished in 1877 as part of the famine relief works. The fine building in the quasi-classical style that formed the head-

quarters station of the Madras Railway was built at Royapuram near the beach at this time.

Sir A. J. Arbuthnot, Acting Governor (*February—May* 1872)

Lord Hobart succeeded Lord Napier after an interregnum of three months, during which Sir A. J. Arbuthnot, C.S.I., was the acting Governor. The Arbuthnot family has played a large and leading part in the history of the Madras Presidency; and many members of it have served in the local army and civil services, while the now defunct firm of Arbuthnot and Company long enjoyed the reputation of being the premier mercantile firm of South India. The history of the Arbuthnots has been sketched in a very interesting manner by Sir Charles Lawson in a chapter in his entertaining book entitled 'Memories of Madras,' (1905) George Arbuthnot went over to India in 1764 and married there. He had a daughter who married Sir John Lister Kaye. His younger brother distinguished himself in political life; and he and his wife were great friends of the famous Duke of Wellington. A third brother was the father or grand-father of several men who turned out very good work in Madras. A son and a grandson of his distinguished themselves in the Madras Army. Another son was Sir Alexander John Arbuthnot, who was appointed to the Madras Civil Service in 1842 and became successively Collector and Magistrate, Malayalam Translator to the Government, the first Director of Public Instruction, Chief Secretary and ultimately Member of Council. He became acting Governor in 1872, retired from the Madras Civil Service in 1874, became a Member of the Viceroy's Council and subsequently served on the Council of the Secretary of State for India. The younger brother of Sir Alexander was General Sir Charles Arbuthnot, G.C.B., who was Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army from 1879 to 1884 and served with distinction in the Crimean and Afghan Wars. A cousin of theirs, George Arbuthnot, was a high officer in the British Treasury and was twice offered the post of Finance Member of India.

The firm of Arbuthnot and Company

The firm of Arbuthnot and Company was founded by Mr. George Arbuthnot, who became associated in business with a Mr. Lautour, the founder of a well-established firm. On Mr. Lautour's retirement from business, the firm was reconstituted under the name of Arbuthnot and Company. "Its success which was due to Mr. Arbuthnot's genius for business, led eventually to the starting of numerous offshoots, including Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co., of Calcutta; Messrs. Ewart, Latham & Co., of Bombay; Messrs. Arbuthnot, Latham & Co., of London (of which the late Mr. Alfred Latham, Governor of the Bank of England, was the second partner); Messrs. Ogilvy, Gillanders & Co., and Messrs. Arbuthnot, Ewart & Co., of Liverpool (in which several members of the Gladstone family have been partners); and Messrs. Gladstone, Latham & Co., of Manchester."

Mr. Arbuthnot, the founder of the firm, retired at an early age from business in 1823, but lived on in full vigour for two decades more; and like the founder of the firm of the Rothschilds, he placed his relations and descendants in charge of the various branches of his firm in India. Sixteen of his relations or descendants served in the parent firm at Madras; and Sir George Gough Arbuthnot who was the last Director of that firm, was a great-nephew of his. Sir George Gough was the son of a daughter of Field-Marshal Viscount Gough. And thus the Arbuthnot clan contributed greatly to the enrichment of the life of Madras in the 19th century, played its part and disappeared. The motto of the family bears the words 'Innocent and True.'

Lord Hobart Governor (1872-75)

Lord Hobart was Governor for three years from May 1872 until his death from typhoid at Madras towards the end of April 1875. He was a fine scholar and had served as a clerk in the Board of Trade and in the diplomatic service as well. He promoted education and the project of the Madras Harbour

construction; and it was due to his encouragement that Madras came to have her first proper system of drainage. Lord Hobart wrote extensively on political questions; and a collection of his *Essays and Miscellaneous writings* was brought out by his widow.

W. R. Robinson Acting Governor:
The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos Governor (1875-80)

Mr. W. R. Robinson, who had served in the Presidency from 1842 and had risen to be Member of Council, acted as Governor for six months till November 1875, when the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos assumed the office. Subsequently Mr. Robinson was created a K.C.S.I.; and he gave his name to Robinson Park in Rayapuram. The new Governor was the third Duke and had seen much of Parliamentary and political life. He had been Lord President of the Privy Council and Secretary of State for the Colonies before he came to Madras. He built the substantial and attractive Government House at Ootacamund; his regime was marked by the intensively severe famine that raged over South India in the years 1876 and 1877 and continued into 1878 also.

The Great Famine of 1876-78

The Governor had as his Councillors, Sir Neville Chamberlain, who was the Commander-in-Chief, Sir W. R. Robinson and Mr. Ellis.. These had to face and fight the calamity which fell upon the Presidency in the autumn of 1876. The Madras merchants had been prompt in getting large stocks of grain long before Government made any sign that it anticipated disaster. As many as 500,000 bags of rice were got into Madras from Ganjam alone before active famine relief operations were undertaken by Government. Though the famine was most severe in North Arcot, Bellary and in the neighbouring districts, the suffering was equally great in Chingleput where but few relief works were provided. People left their homes and flocked in large numbers into the city.

A number of Hindu gentlemen of Madras took prompt measures to feed the starving thousands of the poor; and the result was that, according to rumour, food was to be had in Madras for the mere asking of it. The extent of relief made was exaggerated, and it was said in North Arcot that 'in Madras, there are mountains of rice and rivers of ghee; anybody who likes can have a share.' Ten Hindus fed, for a number of days with one daily meal, as many as 12,000 people; but the suffering actually witnessed in Madras was heart-rending. Mr. W. Digby thus wrote of the situation in Madras at the time. "An immense number of 'emaciated' congregated on the beach and obtained a precarious existence by picking up the grains which fell from the rice-carts, the grain being not always accidentally dropped. The scenes in the streets of Madras at this time (November 1876) and for seven or eight subsequent months were unique, and in many respects sad and disheartening. Much excitement was caused by a report of death from starvation in one of the most frequented streets of the city; a villager and his family had 'wandered' into the town; these were without food for several days, two of the children died and were buried, and then the man died of absolute want in sight of thousand of bags of grain. One of the daily journals, in a spasm of excitement, charged the authorities with manslaughter." (Page 13 of William Digby's *The Famine Campaign in Southern India*, Vol. I, 1878).* This kind of

Relief measures in the City of Madras

* "Half relations were cheerfully sacrificed by respectable people, so that their relatives might share with them such as they had. Even, however, when all the 'wanderers' who had kinsfolk in town were provided for, there were still many people who had no food, and in accordance with religious teaching and the promptings of their own hearts, several Hindu gentlemen in the Northern Division of Madras fed daily a large number of people. Two members of the Chetty caste fed 2,000 each; one Mudaliyar 2,000; two Chetties 2,000 and 1,500 respectively, and others smaller numbers making altogether 11,400.... His Grace the Governor paid tribute to the Friend-in-Need Society and the following Indian gentlemen for their great charitable endeavours; namely, Haji Muhammad Padsha Sahib, A. Armuga Mudaliar, N. Ramalingam Pillai, P. Munuswami Chetty, P. S. Ramaswami Mudaliar and Venkataswamy Naidu. (*Ibid.*—pages 27-28)."

private relief was conducted in Madras till December of the year when the control passed into the hands of the police under Col. W. S. Drever, who had as many as 20,000 people to feed daily and whose work was done with a thoroughness beyond all praise.

The construction of the Buckingham Canal

As part of the relief operations undertaken in connection with the famine, the East Coast Canal was dug; and it subsequently developed into the well-known Buckingham Canal* extending for 261 miles along the east coast of the Presidency from Pedda Ganjam to Markanam. The excavation of the canal was begun so early as 1801; but prior to the famine of 1876-78, the expenditure incurred on it was only about 5½ lakhs of rupees. During the famine nearly 30 lakhs of rupees was spent on the work of which about 22 lakhs represented the normal value of labour done.

The beginnings of the Madras Harbour

Attention may now be directed to the construction of the Harbour which was begun in 1876 and completed in its first form in 1881. The need had been long felt for some sort of protection from

* The connection of the Buckingham Canal with the City of Madras through the entire length of which it runs, will be clear by the following note:—"In the early part of the 19th century, two canals, known as Cochrane's Canal and the South Coast Canal, existed. The former led from the Cooum northwards as far as Doogarauzpatam, and the latter from Paupanchauvady in Chingleput district southwards to the mouth of Palaur, near Sadras. Passengers and light cargoes of firewood, fish, etc., were carried by these canals. Cochrane's Canal has been from time to time extended north so as to reach Pedda Ganjam in Kistna district, where through the local Commamore Canal it joins with the Kistna delta high level canals. The South Coast Canal has similarly been extended south to Mercaunam in South Arcot district. During the administration of the Duke of Buckingham as Governor of Madras, these canals were connected by a fresh excavation, five miles in length, running through the heart of Madras from the mouth of the Cooum to the Adyar river. This was one of the famine relief works of 1877-78. The whole canal, including the new central excavation, is sometimes called the Buckingham Canal; otherwise only the northern section. Through communication now existing between the Godavary delta, the Kistna delta, and the Buckingham canal system, passengers can go by canal from Mercaunam to Cocanada, distance 462 miles." In the city it joined Cochrane's canal (on the North River) continuing into the Cooum, with the Adyar by a canal that cut the Chepauk Park into two and traversed the entire length of Triplicane and Mylapore.

the rough surf which prevented ships from anchoring near the shore and compelled the transportation of passengers and goods in the crazy *masula* boats and slender *catamarans.* Numerous are the references in the literature dealing with the history of Madras to the difficulties experienced in embarkation and debarkation at Madras. In 1862, a screw-pile pier was built in order that goods might be landed safely on it from boats. In 1876 work was begun for the construction of a harbour sufficiently large to shelter 9 steamers of from 3,000 to 7,000 tons. The two arms of the harbour, which consisted of two masonry breakwaters, each running on either side of the pier and then turning in towards each other, were built. Scarcely was the work completed in 1881 when a violent cyclone "washed away half a mile of the breakwaters, threw the two top courses of concrete blocks into the harbour, hurled over two of the Titan cranes used on the works, lowered and spread out the rubble base of the breakwaters; and washed away one and a half miles of construction railway." Undeterred by this disaster, Government returned to the work again and completed the whole scheme, as originally planned, in 1896. The harbour was shaped like "the jaws of pincers running out into the sea." Its entrance was 500 feet in width and faced east. But a new danger came into view. Surf-driven sand accumulated from the south and silted up the entrance of the harbour; and so it became necessary to close the eastern mouth and to provide a new entrance in the north-eastern corner of the harbour, which was to be protected by a breakwater projecting on the sea side to the north of this new harbour mouth. This is the present harbour* which was well finished only in the present century.

The new Harbour

* "The artificial harbour which is formed by two arms projecting from the shore is practically square and covers about 200 acres with an entrance, 400 feet wide, on the north-eastern corner, protected by an outer sheltering arm 1,791 feet in length. The depth of water at the entrance is about 37 feet at high water and about 34 feet at low water and the normal daily tidal variation is 2½ feet.

Vessels can enter and leave the harbour at all states of the tide and at all times day or night and lie in smooth water in all weathers.

The first census of the Madras city was taken on a regular basis in 1871. Even previous to this year, there had been gathered several quinquennial enumerations of the population, though some of the early estimates of the number of inhabitants in the Madras City were based on guess-work. Even Sir Charles Trevelyan is said to have believed that the city contained not less than one million people. In 1871, the population numbered 397,552, as compared with the figure 647,232 of the census of 1931. The report of the census of 1871 for the city of Madras is "the most detailed of the whole series of census reports on the city." Some difficulty was experienced in securing information then.*

The first Census of the Madras City (1871)

During the cyclone season, however (April—June and October—November) steamers may very occasionally have to leave the harbour and proceed to sea, on account of heavy range inside the harbour when a cyclone passes over or near the port. There are seven quay berths.

The harbour is directly connected by rail with the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, 5 feet 6 inch gauge and with the South Indian Railway, gauges 5 feet 6 inch and one metre; and *via* these two trunk lines goods are booked over the entire railway system of India.

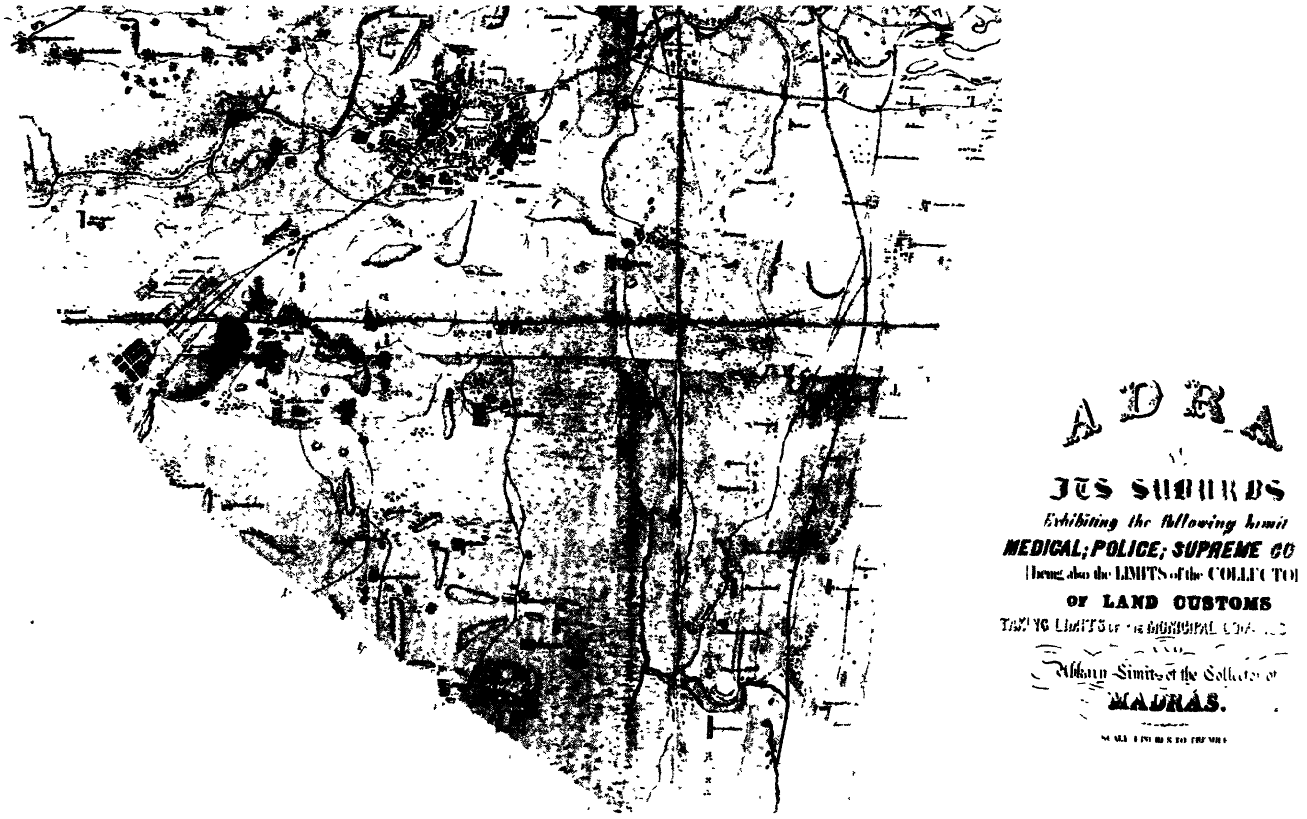
There is a Government-owned radio station near the harbour which handles commercial messages and sends out weather bulletins and storm warnings.

All quay berths are served by railway tracks of mixed gauge to accommodate both 5 feet 6 inch and metre gauge rolling stock. There are about 30 miles of such track within the harbour. Troop-ships and emigrant vessels as well as vessels of the P. and O., British India, City and other passenger lines habitually use the quays, the train coming up alongside or close to the ships in the case of emigrant vessels and troop-ships.

Two tugs are provided for berthing and assisting steamers. The west quays are equipped with travelling hydraulic and electric cranes." (Pages 150-151 of *Madras: The Official Hand Book of the Corporation of Madras*—1938).

* "There appears to have been an actual enumeration in 1822, when the population was estimated at 462,051. Of this census the author of the Report for 1871 remarks laconically: 'Probably the conicopolies were paid by the number of persons they were supposed to enumerate.'"

"The most stupid and least public spirited section of the community appears to have been found amongst the European residents, some of whom, with a delicious, if somewhat troublesome *naivete*, regarded it as an impertinence that they should be called upon to answer the same questions 'as were put to the Indian population.'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Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, Governor (1881—1886)

Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff, the next Governor was the son of Captain Grant Duff, author of *The History of the Mahrattas*, (1826), and the godson of the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone. He was in Parliament for nearly quarter of a century and was Under Secretary of State for India in the years 1868-74 and also for the Colonies for a short time; he was made a Member of the Privy Council shortly before he assumed the Governorship of Madras. He is best known for his construction of the Marina at Madras, which is a most delightful promenade for the citizens and extends in a straight and broad line from the bridge at the mouth of the Cooum river on the north to San Thomé on on the south. It is skirted by noble buildings for the greater part along its landside. This handsome promenade was constructed during the Governorship of Sir M. E. Grant-Duff. It has been since embellished by the setting up of parterres of flower beds, the providing of an avenue close by the sands, the fixing up of stately electric lights which make the whole thoroughfare look like a fairyland at night and by the construction of amenities for sanitation and recreation and a radio along its course. It has become "one of the chief lungs of the city frequented in the late afternoon and evening by thousands of people, who pour out from hot and stuffy streets and offices in quest of cooling breezes from the sea."

The Marina

Governor Grant-Duff explains in a letter why he gave the name Marina to the road. " We have greatly benefitted Madras, he wrote, 'by turning the rather dismal beach of five years ago into one of the most beautiful promenades in the world.. From old Sicilian recollections, I gave in 1884 to our new creation the name of the Marina; and I was not a little amused when,

'Some took the schedule but did not return it. A few wrote vulgar remarks on the schedule.' The Census Superintendent proceeded unabashed to threaten the terrors of the law upon all such and soon even the most recalcitrant meekly filled his schedule and the enumeration was duly completed." (Pages 38-39 of C. W. Ranson's 'A City in Transition' (1938)).

walking there last winter with the Italian General Saletta, he suddenly said to me 'On se dirai a Palerme'."*

Governor Grant-Duff had previously acquired a very favourable impression of the beach at Madras, which he has thus recorded in his 'Notes of An Indian Journey', (1876) written of a previous tour of India he had made:—"Our way lay first along the shore, and made me think of the very

The Governor's impression of Madras

sensible answer made to me by F—, when I was talking about going to India. 'Go', he said, 'for God's sake.' If you only spend twelve hours on the beach at Madras, it will be a great deal better than nothing'." Further, he gives an equally favourable idea of the city of Madras. "Thence we drove on, passing Fort St. George, the Cathedral and other buildings, observing the huge 'Compounds' which make the distances of Madras more tremendous even than those of other Indian cities, admiring the brilliant yellow flowers of the Thespesia populnea, which is planted in avenues, and crossing two rivers—one of which, the Adiar, is rather pretty." (Pages, 188-189).

Grant-Duff was of the impression that life was arranged, at least for the Europeans, in a much more comfortable way suitable for a hot climate than in Calcutta. The Governor was a patron of education and science and a man of letters. He wrote extensively, and among his works are, 'Studies in European Politics'; 'Notes of an Indian Journey'; 'Memoir of Sir H. S. Maine'; and 'Notes from a Diary'. He was for several years President of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Royal Historical Society.

A picture of Madras and its Governor, Grant-Duff, is

W. S. Blunt's picture of Grant Duff

furnished by Mr. W. S. Blunt, the English publicist, who visited Madras in November 1884. Speaking of the Governor, Blunt says as follows:—"And Mr. Grant-Duff?" I asked (a friend). "We consider him," he said "a failure. He came out as Governor of Madras with great expectations, and we find him feeble,

* Imperial Gazeteer of India, Madras, Vol. I, page 499.

sickly, unable to do his work himself, and wholly in the hands of the permanent officials. The Duke of Buckingham, of whom we expected less, did much more, and much better."........ .....I found this opinion of Grant-Duff a very general one among the natives. Though a clever man, he had spent all his life in the confined atmosphere of the House of Commons, and was quite unable to deal with a state of society so strange to him as that which he found in India."

And of some Indian citizens

Further, we get from Mr. Blunt a very pleasing picture of several Indian leaders who flourished in Madras at the time. The *Hindu* had begun to flourish by then. This paper started life a short time before Surendra Nath Banerjee began to work the *Bengali.* The first editors of the *Hindu,* Messrs. G. Subrahmanya Aiyar and M. Viraraghavacharya, illustrated in their own persons and life the truth of the statement that a great journalist is in nine cases out of ten, also a great publicist. They were potent wheels in the machine "that has made Indian journalism the hand-maiden, if not something more of Indian nationalism." Blunt thus writes of them. "My first visitors at Madras were a couple of Hindu gentlemen, editors of the local newspaper, the "Hindu"; their names, Subrahmania Aiyer and Vira Raghava Charya; intelligent, clear-headed men, contrasting by no means unfavourably with men of their profession in London. Their manners were good and their conversation brilliant. The matters principally discussed between us were the heavy pressure of the land revenue on the Madras peasantry, the burden of the salt-tax, the abuses connected with the civil courts, the ruin of the cotton manufacture and industry by the enforced free trade with England, the unreality of the so-called 'productive works', especially as to roads, and the conservative opposition of the Covenanted Civil Service to all reform—neither Viceroys nor Governors were able to oppose them."*

* Pages 36-37 of W. S. Blunt's '*India under Ripon*'—*A Private Diary*. See also the account in his book of R. Raghunatha Rao whom he calls 'the Indian Socrates'.

W. P. Adam, Governor in 1880-81

Between the Duke of Buckingham and Mr. Grant-Duff there was the short-lived rule of Mr. William Patrick Adam who died at Ootacamund after five months of rule and whose eldest son was created a Baronet in recognition of his father's services.

Lord Connemara, Governor (1886—90)

Robert Bourke, the next Governor (1886—1890) was a brother of the Earl of Mayo, Viceroy and Governor-General. He was Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs on two occasions and was appointed to the Privy Council before he became the Governor of Madras. He was made a Peer, Baron Connemara, in 1887.

The Madras Congress Session (1887)

It was during the time of Grant-Duff and Connemara that the Indian National Congress became a living force in the history of the country. In December 1885, the first session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay. It was conceived on the same lines and had the same programme as the National Conference of Bengal that met in 1883. Other provinces followed the example of Bengal; provincial conferences became recognised institutions and were specially popular in the Madras Presidency. The Indian National Congress met at Madras in 1887. There was an animated discussion about the Arms Act in the Madras session; the prominent men that participated in the deliberations were Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao, who was the chairman of the reception committee and Messrs. Viraraghavachariar, G. Subrahmanya Aiyar, P. Rangiah Naidu and P. Anantacharlu. The Madras leaders had an ornament

The political leaders of Madras

among them in Rajah Sir Ananda Gajapati, Maharajah of Vizianagaram, the 'Prince Charming,' as he was rightly called by Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, a previous Governor of Madras. On the occasion of this Madras session, Mr. Viraraghavachariar wrote in Tamil a *Congress Catechism* and distributed 30,000 copies of it. Mr. John Adam, the Principal of Pachaiyappa's College and the well-known Mr. Eardley Norton, son of John Bruce

Norton and a most fearless and distinguished lawyer and politician, were the European delegates that took part in the proceedings.

It is pleasing to note that Lord Connemara invited the members of the Congress, not as such, but as distinguished visitors, to a garden-party at Government House. It was only a few years later that Government, both Central and Provincial, began to take up a distant and frigid attitude of correct neutrality towards Congress activities.

The Connemara Library and the Museum

Lord Connemara is commemorated in Madras by having his name attached to the Public Library located in the Museum Buildings. The Connemara Public Library and the Museum have had a momentous history. The Madras Museum is housed in spacious buildings in Egmore. The Museum is in a collection of buildings in an extensive compound, the nucleus of which was known in former days as the Pantheon or Assembly Rooms, wherein Madras society disported itself at the end of the 18th century. The old Pantheon has been extended and improved beyond recognition. It came into possession of the Government in 1821 and was used as a Land Customs Office and as the Collector's Cutcherry. It was later enlarged and converted into the Museum to which the Connemara Public Library and the New Museum Theatre have been added.

It will be convenient at this place to sketch the development of the Museum and associated institutions.

The Museum contains departments of Natural History, Comparative Anatomy, Systematic and Economic Botany, Mineralogy and Geology, Industrial Arts, Ethnology, Antiquities and Archæology. The Ethnological, Industrial and Arts departments as well as the magnificent collection of old arms and implements of war which were removed from the Arsenal in the Fort, are housed in a building to the south of the Connemara Library. This building was originally intended to accommodate the Victoria Technical Institute founded in commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of the Queen in 1887, but was

subsequently handed over to the Museum for the accommodation of its overflowing galleries, while a new and fine structure was built in the adjacent compound for the Institute. These connected buildings of the Museum were constructed in the time of Lord Connemara, Governor (1886-90) when the noble Library was built, according to the design of Mr. Irwin, in the Indo-Saracenic style which he much favoured. It was found that there were no books to put into its magnificent alcoves fitted with fine book-cases. Accordingly, the surplus of the Government Secretariat Library was transferred to it as well as the old collection of early Madras newspapers. The Library has been since steadily added to and facilities have been recently started for the loaning out of books to accredited individuals. Till recently, the buildings accommodated, in one wing, the collection of the Madras University Library which has been recently housed in a magnificent structure to the north of the Senate House on the Marina.

A further historical note on the Madras Museum.

The starting of a Museum under direct Government auspices may be regarded as part of its activity in the field of educational promotion. The Madras Literary Society presented to Government, in 1851, a collection of its geological specimens; and this with the duplicates left after despatching similar articles for the Great London Exhibition in Hyde Park, formed the nucleus of the present Government Museum. It was at first proposed to establish several local museums throughout the Presidency which were to communicate with the Madras Museum which was consequently called the Central Museum. At its start, it contained nearly thirty thousand specimens in Natural History, Economic Geology, Geographical Geology, coins and sculptures and a library. The second report published in 1853 of the working of the Museum, gives an account of the origin of the institution. The exhibits have been subsequently added to very largely; and they include a large and growing Ethnographic section to illustrate the costumes, manners and customs of the ancient peoples of the Presidency.

Account of the exhibits

The exhibits are arranged in sections in two separate buildings, the old one, in the former Pantheon Hall, containing collections of mammals, birds and reptiles, besides some valuable sculptures of archaeological sites; and the new building to the south of the Connemara Public Library housing the ethnographical objects.

The Museum authorities have been publishing a series of bulletins and pamphlets on the different branches of knowledge within their purview. Among the most valuable objects of archaeological interest in the Museum are sculptured marbles from the railings of the Buddhist Stupa at Amaravati dating from the 2nd century A.D. and a rock-crystal casket said to contain a fragment of a bone of the Buddha.

The collection of arms and armoury of the past age, the pre-historic antiquities in which South India is so rich and the valuable coin chests containing a rich numismatic collection of the coins of the various dynastics of South India and of the early English and other European Companies are objects worth seeing.

The Madras Zoo

A Zoological garden in connection with the Museum was started in 1855. It was subsequently transferred to the People's Park which was opened as a recreation ground for the citizens in 1860 by the then Governor Sir Charles Trevelyan. Subsequently, the garden was made over to the care of Municipal Corporation; and it has ever since remained a municipal charge, being a growingly attractive feature to the sight-seer.

The Aquarium

The Marine Aquarium situated on the Marina sands opposite the Presidency College is a very unique one. It was started by E. Thurston, a former Superintendent of the Museum, and has been subsequently taken over by the Fisheries Department of Government. The Aquarium contains a very attractive and numerous collection of fishes of varying colour, besides typical collections of preserved specimens illustrating a very large range of marine animals. It is supported almost entirely by the admission fees paid by its numerous visitors.

The New High Court Buildings

In 1889 the new High Court buildings began to be constructed in the midst of a large park in the northern Esplanade. These buildings housed, in addition to the High Court, the Small Causes Court (now located in a separate structure to the south of the main blocks), the City Civil Court, the printing press of the courts and the Advocates' chambers. The whole group form a great block of red buildings, surmounted by numerous towers and domes, of which the highest forms the present Light House.* The western portion of the main buildings is separated from the eastern block by a roadway which is arched over with a passage. The interior consists of a labyrinth of vestibules, corridors, stairways and court-rooms, "intricate and bewildering as the mazes of the law itself." All the court rooms are ornamented and flagged with white and black square stones and lighted through beautiful stained glass arches, besides being adorned with fine stucco panels on the walls.

The Light House Tower

In the middle of the buildings rises the Light House Tower to a height of 160 feet above the sea level. The Light House was built to take the place of the old dismantled one which stands in the north of the High Court Park—a handsome stone-faced Doric column which did service for more than half a century. In the crypt under the Light House Tower, is a good-sized statue in marble of Sir T. Muthuswami Iyer, the first and one of the ablest of Indian Judges in the Presidency, whose honoured memory was perpetuated in this fashion by an admiring public. The sculptor, Mr. Wade, had nothing to work on except a faded photograph of the Judge and a few hints that his colleagues gave him about his appearance, but the likeness is remarkably good.

To the south of the High Court Buildings was recently built a new structures in the same style, intended for the accommoda-

* The dome of the Light House is the work of distinguished Indian masons; and Lord Lansdowne, the Viceroy, Lord Wenlock, the Governor and Sir Arthur Collins, the Chief Justice, each laid a stone of it at the foundation.

tion of the Small Causes Courts in order relieve the congestion of space in the buildings.

Adjacent to the northern compound wall of the High Court are two statues one on either side of it. The statue outside is that of Dr. Miller, the great Missionary educationist of South India, looking across the street on the former buildings of the Christian College which he helped so much to prosper. The other situated inside the compound was recently erected. It depicts the sitting figure of Sir V. Bashyam Iyengar who was, perhaps, the keenest of the Indian lawyers of his generation and a great jurist.

It was in Lord Wenlock's time also that the Law College came to be built. It is another imposing block of red buildings with two tall domed towers, flanking either side of the gateway and is in the approved style of Indo-Saracenic architecture, characteristic of Madras buildings in the latter portion of the 19th century. The College and its grounds occupy the site of the old English burial-ground on the confines of the old Black Town.

The Second Madras Congress (1894)

In 1894, the Indian National Congress came back to Madras after seven years and found "the fair city stronger than ever in her devotion to the work." Mr. P. Rangiah Naidu was the chairman of the reception committee and Col. (later (later Sir George) Moore, who was the President of the Madras Municipality rendered much kindly help to the gathering and was warmly thanked for the same. Among the Madrassis that took part in the proceedings, besides the old familiar veterans, there may be mentioned Rajah Sir Savalai Ramaswami Mudaliar, C. Jambulingam Mudaliar, Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu and the Hon'ble C. Sankaran Nair.

South Indian Publicists

In 1892, the Madras Legislative Council was enlarged by the India Act of that year and the non-official element in the Provincial Councils was to be appointed on the basis of 'recommended' elections by Municipalities and District Boards. Mr. C.

Sankaran Nair and Mr. P. Rangiah Naidu were among its Indian members.

With regard to the oratory of the Madras publicists of the age, we have the well-known description of an Anglo-Indian paper of the eloquence of Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao in the following words:—"The mantle of eloquence has fallen on the shoulders of Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao and the Viceroy himself lags behind him in the race." The Viceroy referred to was Lord Lytton.

With regard to the others, a contemporary eye-witness gives this description:—" A considerable number of the speakers delivered orations of the very highest order, many of them evidencing a wide acquaintance with English as well as Oriental literature, and, I need hardly add, with every department of law and jurisprudence, in as much as several of the most prominent amongst them were English and native gentlemen in large practice, who have been called to the English bar. Their illustrations and similies, which were frequently quotations from great Oriental writers or from the speeches of British orators or politicians, were at all times apt and telling, and the quaint wit of some of the native speakers was most refreshing to one who has been accustomed to English political harangues. Of course there were the usual bores, who severely tried the patience of a forbearing audiance."*

The rule of Lord Wenlock and Sir Arthur Havelock (1891—1901)

The rule of Lord Wenlock (1891—1896) and of Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock (1896—1901) was comparatively eventless, so far as the city of Madras was concerned.

The Municipal Administration of Madras in the XIX Century

We can close the history of the city of Madras in the 19th century with a short review of the changes that were effected in the period in its municipal

The Act of 1841

* Pages 331-332 of J. Samuelson's '*India Past and Present—Historical, Social and Political*' (1890).

activities: The Act of 1792 was modified by Act XXVIII of 1836 passed by Governor-General of India in Council, to the effect that no assessment made by the Justices of the Peace for the Presidency of Fort St. George under the Act of 1792 should be levied without the approval of the Governor-in-Council. Another clause of this Act empowered the Governor-in-Council to exempt any part of the city from the payment of such municipal taxes. The next step in the growth of the Madras Municipality was marked by the Act of 1841 (Act XXVIII) which sought to give greater latitude of action and a reality of real local self-government. According to this act rate-payers of particular sections of the city could be empowered with the assessment, collection and management of the rates of their own division, with the assent of Government; but no advantage appears to have been taken of this privilege.

The Act of 1856

Act XXVI of 1856 was passed for the conservancy and improvements of the towns of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay and superseded the existing regulations for the cleansing of the town of Madras. It introduced a radical change. It abolished the Bench of Justices and substituted three Commissioners, all of them nominated by Government, who formed a body corporate under the designation of "The Municipal Commissioners for the Town of Madras" and were to look after its conservancy and improvements. Each one of them was to be paid salaries out of the municipal funds. The Act further provided for increasing the maximum taxes on houses and lands from 5 to 7½ per cent. and also imposed a tax on all carriages and carriage-animals kept within the town or within three miles of it or used upon its roads. In addition to this Act which was of local application, the Governor-General in Council passed two other Acts in the same year the provisions of which applied to Madras in common with the other Presidency towns. The first of these Acts contained elaborate provisions for the conservancy and improvement of the town; and the second conferred powers on these Commissioners for the assessment and collection of municipal taxes.

The Act of 1865

The Act of 1856 gave no large taxing powers to the Municipality; and this defect was remedied by the Madras Provincial Legislature (started in 1862) passing an Act (The Madras Act IX of 1865) when three honorary members were appointed to aid the three paid Commissioners. These honorary members were to be selected from the resident inhabitants of the town and to hold office for three years and were subject to removal for misconduct. Powers were now given to raise the assessment on houses, etc., to 10 per cent, to impose license taxes on carriages and animals, trades and professions, and to collect tolls on carriages, carts and animals on entering the municipal limits. These provisions mainly re-enacted the clauses of the previous Acts which they superseded.

The Madras Act IX of 1867

It was found that some of the provisions of the Act of 1865 were vague and difficult to interpret and to work. Consequently, an Act was passed early in 1867 (Madras Act IX of 1867). This piece of legislation introduced a radical alteration in the constitution of the Municipality. It divided the city into eight wards or divisions, each of which was represented by four Commissioners appointed by the Government from among the residents of the division. These Commissioners, thirty-two in number, were presided over by an officer in whom executive power and responsibility were vested; and the Commissioners-in-Council were empowered to pass, reject or modify the items in the annual budget which had to be submitted to them by the President. The Act also modified and amended the provisions relating to taxes, trades and callings, imposed a new tax on the sale of liquors and a regular toll on imports and exports coming by sea, the last of which was however disallowed by the Government of India. Further, the Act made arrangements for the systematic registrations of births and deaths and for the improvement of public conservancy and public health. It included within the scope of purposes for which municipal funds could be spent, the diffusion of education, the construction and repair of hospitals

and dispensaries, the training and employment of vaccinators and medical practitioners and all local works of public utility calculated to promote public health and convenience. But it excluded out of the purview of the municipality, the maintenance of the police. Finally, the Act provided for the appointment of a certain number of municipal commissioners by election by the rate-payers at any time that such a course might be deemed advisable by Government.

Subsequent Acts

This Act was superseded by Madras Act V of 1871 and Act V of 1878. The latter provided that 16 out of the 32 Commissioners should be nominated by the Government and 16 elected by the rate-payers. It created two new officers called Vice-Presidents, in whom, conjointly with the President, all executive powers were vested. Provision was made for the appointment of a special sanitary officer whenever there should be an epidemic. The main object, however, was to raise an additional income for meeting expenditure on drainage and it was provided that a water-tax not exceeding 4 per cent. and a lighting-tax not exceeding 2 per cent. should be added to the existing house and land tax which was retained at the existing level of 10 per cent.

Provision of water-supply and drainage

The most important achievements of the municipality in this epoch were the provision of water supply and drainage works for the city. The scheme of having a protected water supply was begun in 1866 and finished in 1872. By this, Madras was supplied with good drinking water from the Red Hills Lake reservoir which is 7 miles distant; the original scheme was carried out under the supervision of Mr. Lee, the Municipal Engineer. Before the introduction of this supply, Madras (particularly the Fort), was dependent upon the small Trevelyan Reservoir and the old Seven Wells in the north of George Town. Recently a new scheme was put into execution by which the water-supply has been enlarged. The Red Hills water is now taken to the Pumping Station at Kilpauk from which head it is filtered and sent on by mechanical pressure through distributory pipes to

the various parts. A large amount of controversy has been raging over the whole scheme of water supply, particularly over the methods taken to purify it at the Kilpauk station.

Parts of the city have been systematically drained for many years. A thorough drainage scheme was executed for George Town as early as the eighties. This consisted of U shaped drains at the sides of the streets which emptied themselves into three parallel sewers and ultimately into a main sewer from which the contents were pumped through to a sewage farm to the north of the city. The other localities of Madras were also similarly drained by channels which led into wells and from which water was pumped into sewage farms.

The Municipal Acts of 1884 and 1892

The municipal law of the city was again revised in 1884 by an Act that regulated drainage and provided for the prevention of infectious and dangerous diseases. It also said that unless Government otherwise directed, 8 of the 32 Commissioners should be appointed by election. A supplementary Act of 1892 abolished the two Vice-Presidents and created the posts of the Revenue Officer, the Health Officer and the Engineer.

XVIII

MADRAS IN THE PRESENT CENTURY

Part I

It was remarked by Mr. H. V. Lanchester in 1918 that Madras was marked by a very large proportion of unutilized land. He said that "apart from the central open spaces which have their value in respect to the congested districts around them, there are also stretches of ground that have ceased to be used owing to the abandonment of irrigation, but have not been rendered suitable for building sites or gardens, owing to the lack of provision for the disposal of surface water."

The development of open spaces

Madras presented, to a resident in 1871, an entirely rural appearance, with extensive and largely undeveloped areas. Even till about two decades ago, the city could be fittingly described as "a one-storeyed city,"; and if its immense distances created transport problems, they at least relieved it from "the sky-scaling tendencies and the huddled dreariness of the Bombay chawl."

The city's population has doubled itself in a period of sixty years (1871—1931) "without substantially extending its boundaries." Mr. C. W. Ranson sets out in his book, 'A City in Transition—Studies in the Social Life of Madras, (1938),—a comparative table showing the divisional distribution of population at each census from 1871 to 1931, on the basis of the eight divisions of the municipality prevailing in 1871, as subsequent additions to the number of municipal divisions have been largely made by the sub-division of the earlier areas. The distribution characteristic of the city in 1871 has been maintained uniformly throughout the period. For the first half of the period, there was a fairly even growth in population over the whole city, each division registering an increase; but some areas, notably the district of Perambur, showed signs of more rapid growth than others, because of the development of mills in that area from the end of the 19th century. On the whole, however, the increase in

Increase of population and its distribution

population was fairly, smoothly and evenly distributed over the entire area of the city.

Mr. Ranson remarks that in the 30 years preceding 1931 (*i.e.,* in the second half of the period under survey) the internal distribution was less even; the southern portions of the city grew rapidly in population; and there was a definite decrease in density in the first and third divisions, the latter including the Fort St. George area. Between 1901 and 1921 the gross increase in the population of the city was comparatively small, from the figure 509,346 to 526,911; but in the decade ending 1931, the population shot up to the figure 647,230.

Depopulation of some areas

An explanation of this phenomenon of an uneven increase in population is given by Mr. J. C. Molony, who was the author of the 1911 Census Report of the City, and for some years President of the Corporation. According to him, "the obvious reason why people avoid the extreme north-east of the city (divisions 1 and 3) is that communications are bad, there being no tramways." This remark applies particularly strongly at present to the extreme north of the city. Other factors that contributed to the depletion of the northern divisions were (1) the fear that malaria was creeping into these from Ennore; and (2) the steadily operating process of erosion by the sea immediately to the north of the Harbour tending to shift many families from the neighbourhood. The decided fall in the population of the area which lies immediately round the Harbour is due to the fact that the sea-front in this quarter has practically ceased to be residential and come to be covered with large blocks of business premises, "except for European chummeries" (*i.e.,* flats occupied by small groups) and offices. This process was operative in a note-worthy degree in the decade ending 1931; and in the census of the latter year, while every other division showed a substantial increase, this area alone had to record a decline. The flow of population from the harbour area has been mainly directed to the district which lies immediately to its west.

The eight municipal divisions of the city in 1871 covered an area of approximately 27 square miles. Professor Patrick Geddes might have given, in the words of Mr. Ranson, the Madras of 1871 the title of "a connurbation" (*i.e.*, a loose agglomeration of several distinct urban areas with rural patches distributed among them). The city of 1931 has not increased in area except by about two and odd square miles; the most notable addition to the jurisdiction of the Municipal Corporation has been the inclusion of Mambalam or Theagarayanagar on the south-west margin of the city, which has been developed mainly within the last decade into a most magnificent and attractive residential suburb, linked up with the rest of the city by an effective motor bus service and the electrified South Indian Railway line. Its development has been based on a healthily planned scheme of allotment of house sites and a very good distribution of open spaces and parks.

Addition of Mambalam

The thirty administrative divisions of the city of 1931 can be grouped into the following main divisions:—*

	Square miles.
Tondiarpet	4.496
Royapuram	0.870
George Town	2.085
Triplicane	3.210
Chintadripet	0.314
Mylapore	5.517
Kilpauk	3.931
Perambur	4.310
Nungambakkam	2.863
Mambalam	1.800
Total ..	29.396

* Mr. Ranson remarks, as follows, regarding the distribution of density of population over the city. "The locality to the north-west of the Fort has remained throughout the history of the City the most populous area. But it is significant, though not surprising,

Greater Madras

Greater Madras has become a most striking feature in the growth of the city in the recent decades. This has been largely due to the development of numerous colonies on the city margins. The drift from the heart to the margins was noted even in the Census Report of 1921, according to which as many as 10,000 people had, during the previous decade, shifted their homes from the congested areas in the city to residential quarters outside the municipal limits. The census figures for 1931 show even more clearly how Greater Madras has rapidly grown in the shape of residential colonies on the outskirts beyond the existing municipal boundaries.

The chief areas forming Greater Madras are (1) Tiruvottiyur on the north; (2) Sembiam (adjoining Perambur) and Villivakkam on the west; (3) Amanjikkarai beyond the toll-gate on the Poonamallee Road; (4) Kodambakkam and (5) the Saidapet Municipality, Guindy, Adyar (largely colonised by the Theosophical Society), St. Thomas' Mount and Pallavaram in the south and south-west. Besides these, hundreds of employees in the city have begun to dwell in villages on the main railway lines as far as Minjur and Ponneri on the north, Avadi and Trivellore on the west and Tambaram on the south. The growth of Greater Madras has been largely influenced by the development of the

that it was these excessively congested districts which showed the only tendency towards a decrease in density during the 1921-31 decade. 'The density range' of the city 'is considerable'; 'more than half the city's area has less than 25 persons to the acre, a figure that by no means summons up a picture of urban congestion. In no fewer than five wards, not counting the Fort, the density does not reach 15 persons per acre."

"In only three divisions is 150 per acre exceeded, with Ammankoil recording 175 as highest in the city, Trevelyan Basin following with 166. With the exception of Chintadripet all the wards with over 125 to the acre lie in a compact block between the Buckingham Canal on the west, the Cooum on the south, and the Tiruvottiyur Road on the east. It is to be noted, however, that the population is not spread evenly throughout those districts which have low figures for total density. In many cases these low figures are accounted for by the location within the division of extensive open spaces, and do not necessarily mean that there is no overcrowding and congestion, in occupied areas within the same division."

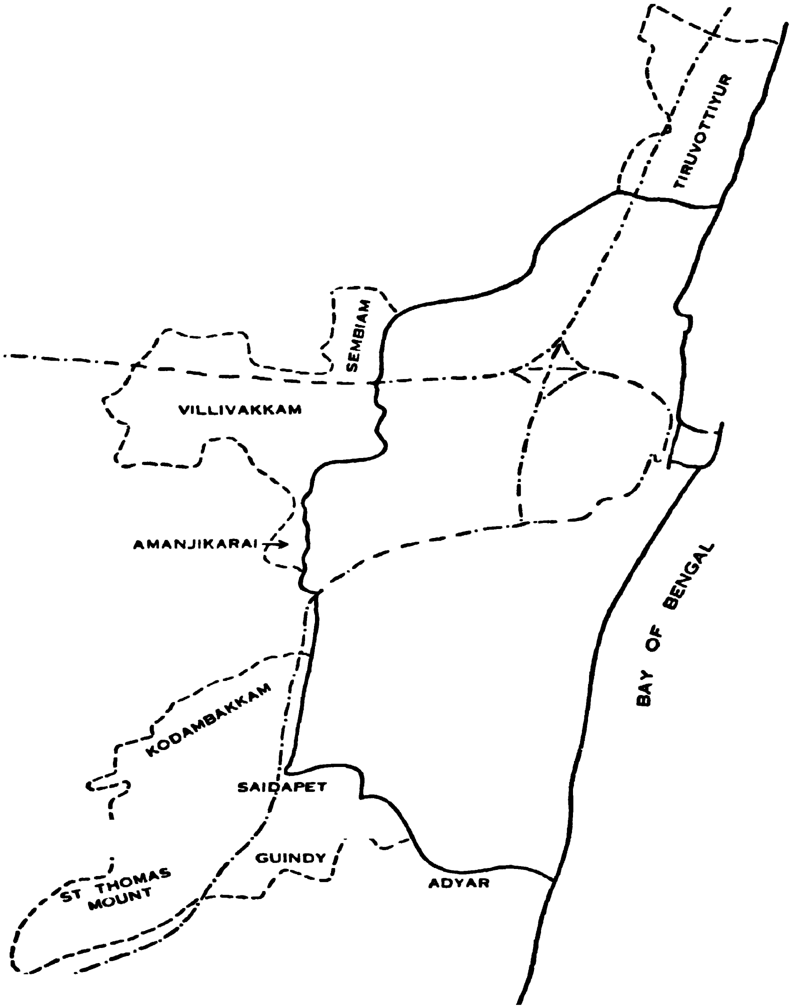
GREATER MADRAS
1931

Municipal boundary..............

Greater Madras boundary....

Railway lines ....

Scale: 1 mile=3/4 inches



motor bus service, by the speeding up and the increase in the number of suburban trains on the M. S. M. Railway and by the electrification of the South Indian Railway up to Tambaram.*

Causes of migration into the city

The drift in the city has not been very marked, because Madras is not a highly industrialised centre like Calcutta and Bombay. Migration to Madras has been largely governed by the movement of prices; and the city has tended "to grow rapidly or slowly according to whether prices have tended to rise or fall." Mr. Ranson says that the migration which inflates the population figures of the city may be broadly described as "the migration of despair rather than the migration of hope." With regard to the population figures alternating with the level of prices, the following conclusions are drawn by him.

(*a*) "In the first period (1881—1901), when price levels

* The following table gives in detail the population of the more important of these 'outer areas' and the total figure for 'Greater Madras.'

Growing districts beyond municipal boundary.	*Houses*	*Persons.*
North.		
Tiruvottiyur town	2,272	10,732
West.		
Group I.		
Sembiam town	5,660	36,127
Villivakkam	299	1,664
Group II.		
Aminjikarai	602	3,507
Kodambakkam	95	497
South-west.		
Saidapet Municipality	5,038	33,037
Guindy Park	57	233
St. Thomas' Mount town	1,266	9,293
Total	15,289	92,090
Greater Madras total	89,134	739,220

(Page 54: A City in Transition).

tended to remain low, there was a marked increase in the population of Madras city, *i.e.*, a drift of immigrants to the city from the country.

(*b*) "In the second period (1901—21), when prices were rising most of the time and in the immediate post-war years soared sensationally, the growth of the city was negligible and the volume of immigration was strikingly diminished.

(*c*) "In the final period (1921—31), when prices dropped rapidly to their pre-war level, the population figures soared and the city recorded the greatest decennial increase in the history of the Madras census."*

Building activity in the City

Another distinguishing feature of recent times has been the remarkable building construction that has been steadily going on and is, at the present time, more active than at any other period in the past. The extensive improvements to the General Hospital, the new additions to the High Court buildings, the new University Library and Administrative buildings in Chepauk, the Burmah Shell and the neighbouring United India Life Assurance Company buildings, the new M. & S. M. Railway works, the Harbour extension works including the new harbour city built on the sand accretion—these are among the most note-worthy additions to the City's building and structural features.

New alignments of the main roads and over-bridges

The electrification of the South Indian Railway line and the broadening of the tracks of the Central Station have resulted in new alignments of the main roads for traffic associated with the lines and in the construction of several over-bridges for the sake of speeding up traffic. The most important of these is the Stanley Viaduct near the General Hospital. Other equally important over-bridges of the City

* The prices of rice and ragi which are the two stable items of diet in Madras have a general tendency to rise and change in the same direction. Any movement in the rise of the price of either of these commodities has a tendency to affect large sections of the population. Rising prices retard effectively the immigration into the city from rural areas and falling prices stimulate it on the other hand.

are that near the Elephant Gate, which has been placed some distance to the north of the previous crossing in order to provide a sufficiently easy gradient between the bridge and the Wall-Tax Road; that on Whannel's Road on the east side of the compound of the Scotch Kirk, connecting the Poonamalle High Road with the Cooum River Side Road, and the Male Asylum Road; and the over-bridge over the Police Commissioner's Road connecting the Poonamalle High Road with Egmore; and, above all, the over-bridge on the Esplanade, a little distance beyond the southern end of Broadway, near the new Fort station. This last over-bridge has been located on the waste space near the Medical College grounds, as required by the re-alignment of the electrified railway line, the road and the railway practically changing places between the Medical College and the North Beach Road. Along part of this last road provision has been made for two roadways for the east and west traffic res4pectively.

Other suggested improvements

Proposals were made to build another bridge over the Cooum to supplement the existing Wallajah Bridge. The traffic on the North Beach Road has become heavy and urgently requires the provision of an over-bridge in the place of the existing level crossing. The level crossings over the M. & S. M. Railway in the Tiruvottiyur High Road and near the Monegar's Choultry have been crying for replacement by over-bridges for a number of years. The General Hospital Road Bridge has long been demanding a widening, if not an entire reconstruction. The sand accretion on the fore-shore which is at its broadest opposite the High Court and the Fort, has, indeed, been utilised for the construction of a new marine drive from the level crossing on the North Beach Road direct to the shore-line. This road has brought the sea within the reach of the middle class population of George Town, who were, for a number of years, deprived of that advantage owing to the dirty and ill-kept condition of the ever-widening sands. The construction of a road close to the shore-line from the sea edge of this marine drive as far south as

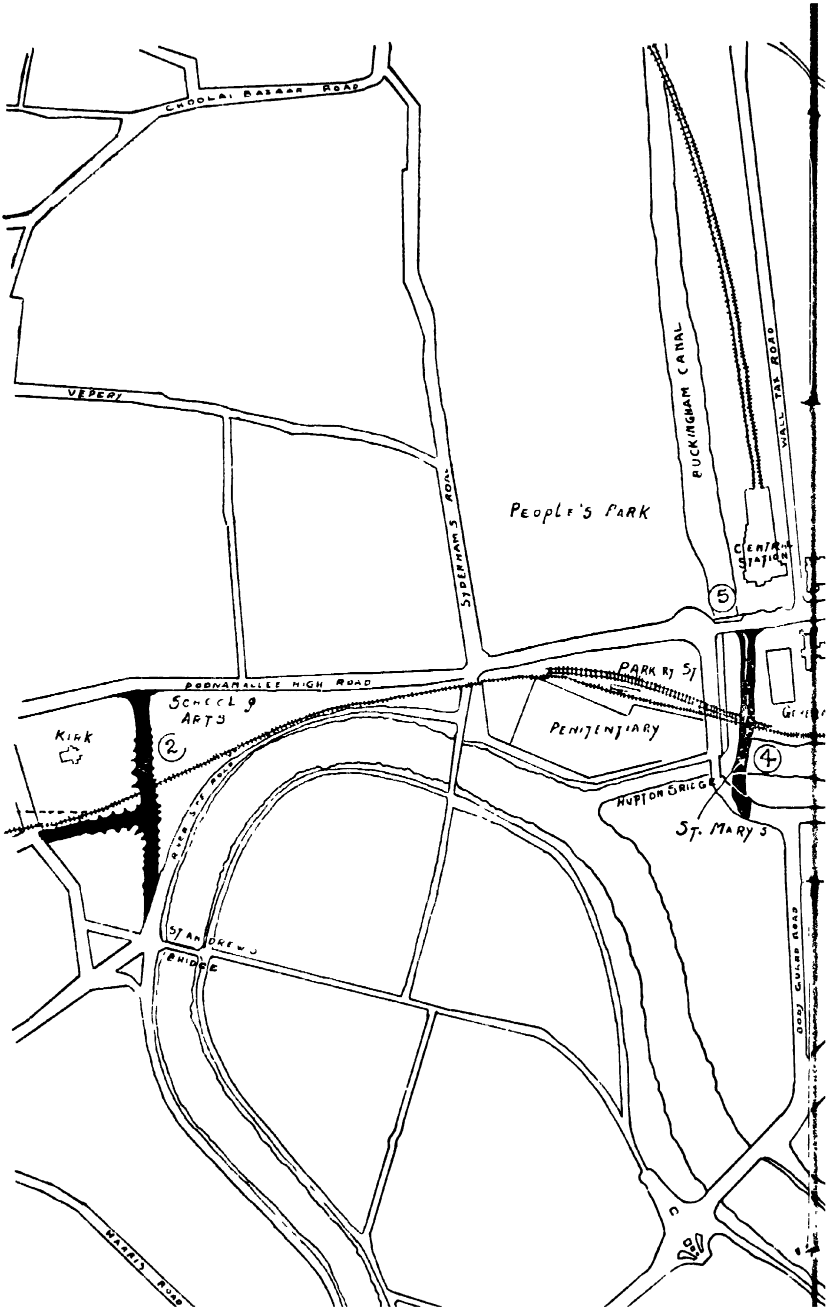
the Napier Bridge will improve the sea-front of the Fort and increase its popularity, thus enabling it to have some advantages comparable to the attractions of the Marina. This fore-shore can then be utilised on the same lines as those on which the Marina fore-shore has been planned to be made use of.

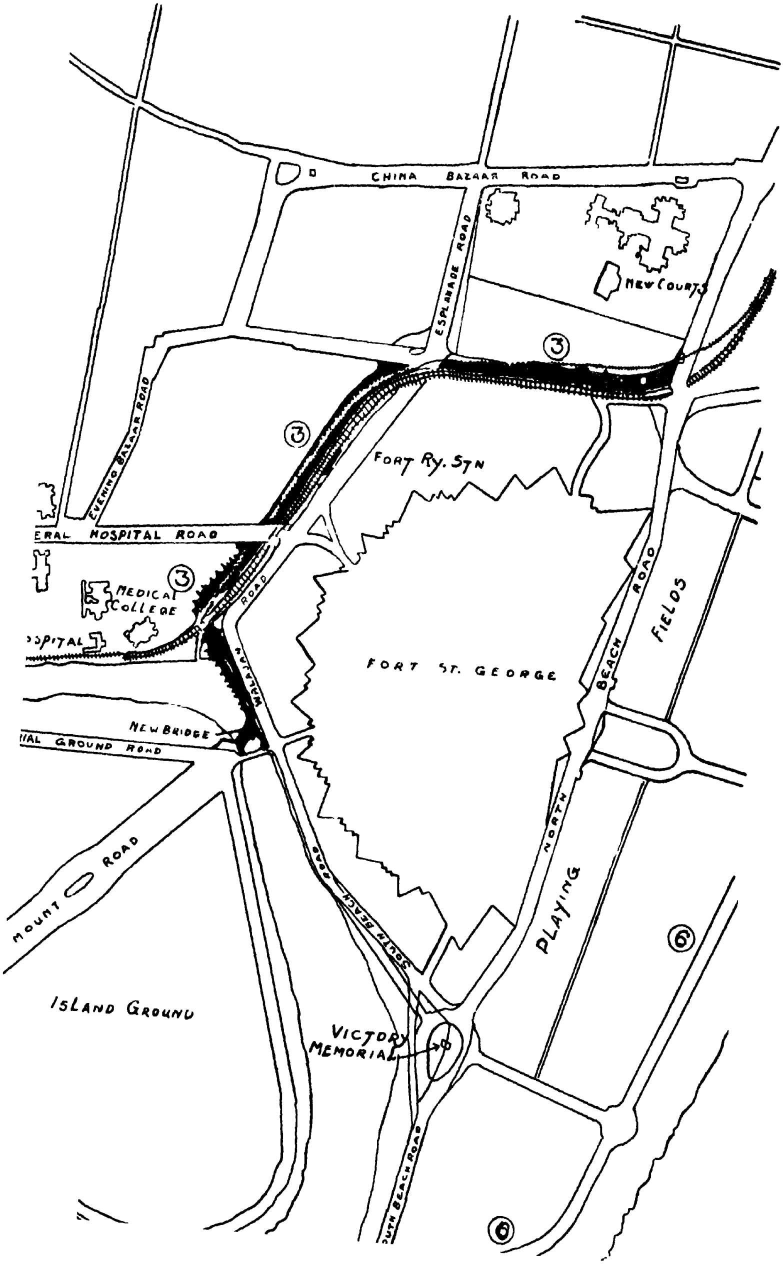
Slums and their clearance.

One peculiar feature of Madras that has been found difficult of eradication, is the existence of numerous plots of ground known as hutting spaces, wherein one-room dwellings of mud and thatch rise up in hundreds. Some of these hutting grounds are the sites of early villages. They are generally kept in a very insanitary condition and are easily subject to fire. In 1871 the census recorded that there were 10,752 huts of this type. In 1931 their number was certainly considerably larger. In 1932, when there was an unofficial inquiry into the condition of the slums of the city, a list of 158 such slums (or cheries) was furnished by the Corporation; and the inquiry found out that there were 23 additional slums not included in the official list and the total number of families living in them was over 40,500. A Special Housing Committee of the Corporation, appointed in 1933, was informed that the population of the slum areas was over 200,000; *i.e.*, nearly 30% of the total population, a figure which cannot but be exaggerated. The Committee estimated the number of slum huts at 15,942 and the total population living in them about a lakh.

Types of houses in the city

68% of the houses in the city were tiled and were of various degrees of value. The terraced houses are mostly of the type that is called Madras terrace, a form of brick-roofing which withstands a tropical climate better than most of the other forms of flat roofing. In 1871 only about 10% of the total number of houses in the city were terraced. No up-to-date figures of such houses are available. The terraced roof is most commonly used in houses of one storey; and there has been a great increase in two-storeyed houses and tall many-storeyed structures in recent years.


CHOOLAI BAZAAR ROAD
VEPERY
SYDENHAMS ROAD
PEOPLE'S PARK
BUCKINGHAM CANAL
WALL TAX ROAD
CENTRAL STATION
5
PARK RY ST
POONAMALLEE HIGH ROAD
SCHOOL OF ARTS
KIRK
2
PENITENTIARY
4
HUTTON BRIDGE
ST. MARY'S
ST ANDREWS BRIDGE
GUARD ROAD
HARRIS ROAD



CHINA BAZAAR ROAD
ESPLANADE ROAD
NEW COURTS
3
EVENING BAZAAR ROAD
3
FORT RY. STN
ERAL HOSPITAL ROAD
3
MEDICAL COLLEGE
SPITAL
ROAD
WALAJAH
FORT ST. GEORGE
BEACH ROAD
FIELDS
NEW BRIDGE
IAL GROUND ROAD
NORTH
MOUNT ROAD
PLAYING
6
SOUTH BEACH ROAD
ISLAND GROUND
VICTORY MEMORIAL
UTH BEACH ROAD
6

There is a marked difference between the congestion of the centre of the city and the spaciousness of its suburban margins; and the divisions showing the highest number of occupants per house are found huddled in the centre, while the lowest figures per house exist in the outer divisions. The congestion is marked in many cases by a family having to share a room with others.

The homeless people of the city

In this connection reference should be made to the homeless section of the population. The Special Housing Committee of the Corporation reckoned, by a census undertaken for the purpose by them, the total number of homeless people as 10,749; and the largest proportion of them was found in the Kotwal Bazaar, in the Esplanade and in Park Town; the lowest numbers of such marking the Kilpauk and Nungambakkam divisions.*

* These unfortunates have thus been described in the Census Report of the Madras of 1931.

"A considerable element of the Madras City's population consists of persons who have no dwelling other than the sidewalk and want none. Floating labour comes in by families to work in Wall-Tax Road and other such neighbourhoods. These family groups may be found camping out in many of the Madras thoroughfares. They are not tramps, but ordinary citizens in all but the possession of a house. Many persons found sleeping on house or shop pials and verandahs were probably classed by the enumerators with the *bona fide* occupants of these last, and the dimensions of this contribution to the city's population are greater than is usually recognized. (Census Tables; City of Madras, 1931, p. 6).

The Committee of 1933 has made the following remarks about their unfortunate condition:—

"The persons enumerated were found sleeping on roadside or platforms, pials of vacant houses, choultries, plank projections in front of shops, etc. A number of persons, members of a family or friends were found wrapped up in one single torn blanket on account of the cold weather. They were mostly clad in rags. Some were sleeping on torn mats with pillows and with a few vessels, pots and caskets close by. These utensils are used by them for cooking purposes. Some beggars and *paradesis* were found with tin vessels, sticks, etc. Their conditions, as a whole, were reported to be pathetic and deplorable."

"These unfortunate people generally make their abodes near the places where they find some means of living. The working coolies in the Harbour were found sleeping on the platforms on the sides of the

The efforts of the Corporation

Since 1932, the Madras Corporation has been pursuing a definite policy of effective slum improvement, that "has now become the most vital issue for Madras transcending other civic problems." The result has been a recognition of the necessity for the public ownership of the sites which require reconstruction. The Madras Rotary Club and the Madras Sanitary Welfare League have experimented upon efforts to find an economic housing scheme for the very poor. The Special Housing Committee of the Corporation has recommended to the Government that an improvement trust should be constituted to construct and look after slum dwellings and middle class houses, which is to work in close co-operation with the Corporation.*

North Beach Road, verandahs of godowns and offices in Moors Street, Narayanappa Naick Street and Krishnan Koil Street. The coolies working in the Kotwal Bazaar were found mostly in Loane Square, pials and verandahs of offices and godowns in Malayaperumal Street. Similarly, large numbers of the homeless were found sleeping in front of godowns and shops in Bunder Street, Godown Street, China Bazaar Road and on roadside platforms in China Bazaar Road, near the Law College Police Station, and the open land adjoining that place, in Rasappa Chetty Street, Nyniappa Naick Street and Devaraja Mudali Street, on the sides of roads or verandahs and on plank projections in front of shops in the localities. In the area adjoining the Ripon Buildings were found large numbers of beggars sleeping on the pavements and on both sides of the General Hospital Road." (Report of the Special Housing Committee, 1934, Madras Corporation, Appendix M. pp. 174-5).

* "The Corporation undertook the complete reconstruction of a few fairly large slums and quite a number of smaller ones. The old huts and houses were demolished and the sites cleared for the erection of new houses, the municipality making itself responsible for the entire reconstruction. The largest of these schemes was at Cemetery Road, where 178 houses were erected, others were at Vasamode where there were 147 houses, at Conran Smith Nagar where there were 106, and at Bogipalayam where there were 75. At the end of 1933 two other fairly large rehousing schemes were under construction at Bogipalayam and in the Harbour Division where blocks of two-storey tenements were being erected—110 tenements in each place.

"Another large project which has been under discussion for several years and to which the Corporation is definitely committed is the reconstruction of the large fishing village of Parthasarathy Kuppam in the 26th Division (Triplicane). This slum is one of the most wretched and insanitary in the city and it is proposed that the site

The beggar problem

As early as 1888 legislative provision was made to take measures to prevent indiscriminate begging in streets and places of public resort. But the provision remained a dead letter, because of the absurd remedy it provided of fining a beggar up to Rs. 50 or sending him to jail for a period. In 1925, the Madras Corporation set up a committee to make proposals for the prevention of professional begging. The City Municipal Act of 1919 authorises the maintenance of rest-houses, alms-houses and poor-houses. The Corporation started a Poor House in 1927 at Tondiarpet. There was the Monegar Choultry, a long-standing institution with a history of nearly a century and a half behind it and the Friend-in-Need Society's Home, an equally venerable institution, which provides indoor and outdoor charity for destitute Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Besides these there are several Annadhana Samajams for the dispensation of free meals, of which those of Triplicane and Purasawakam and the Chennapuri Samajam require special mention for their large scale charities. The beggar problem is becoming one of the most acute of the problems awaiting solution and is of equal importance with the problem of slum clearance.

Let us now survey the changes and improvements in municipal administration that the city has gone through since the beginning of the century. Act I of 1884, amended by Act II of 1892 and Act II of 1899, was superseded by Act III of 1904, under which the number of Municipal Commissioners was increased from 32 to 36 besides the President. Provision was made for the appointment of three Commissioners by the Madras Chamber of Commerce, three by the Madras Trades Association and two by such other associations, corporate bodies, or class of persons as the Local Government might direct. The number

should be cleared and 300 houses or tenements created to replace the existing huddle of miserable huts. Technical difficulties as to the ownership of the site have held up the scheme for several years and it has not yet been begun (1938)." (Pages 97 and 99 of 'A City in Transition,' by Mr. C. W. Ranson).

of elected members was fixed at 20. The remaining eight Commissioners were nominated by the Government who also appointed the President.

The Municipal Corporation Act IV of 1919

Act III of 1904 was superseded by Act IV of 1919, section 4 of which entrusts the administration to the following three authorities:—

(1) The Council.

(2) Standing Committees of the Council.

(3) The Commissioner to be appointed by the Governor in Council not being a member of the Council.

The Council consists of 50 councillors as follows:—

(*a*) Thirty elected divisional councillors.

(*b*) Three elected by the Madras Chamber of Commerce, three by the Madras Trades Association and two by the Southern Indian Chamber of Commerce.

(*c*) Three elected or appointed by other associations or bodies as directed by the Government. The Government directed that the Madras Port Trust, the Madras University and the Anglo-Indian Association should each elect one councillor.

(*d*) Nine appointed by the Government with special regard to the representation of Muhammadans and other minorities.

The President of the Corporation was to be elected annually by the Council; and the executive power vested in the Commissioner.

Under the Madras Local Authorities Entertainment Tax Act V of 1927, the Council resolved to collect an entertainment tax from 15th January 1929.

A Compulsory Elementary Education scheme was first introduced on 1st July 1925. It was first introduced in four divisions. In 1928-29 the scheme was working in all divisions of the City.

One feature of the Act of 1919 was the extension to women of the franchise to vote and to stand as candidates for municipal elections.

At present the Act of 1919 stands as modified by the recent amendments. In 1933, an act created or rather revived, the

Mayor of Madras, in the place of the President. Another amendment of 1936 created Aldermen. The first Mayor was the Kumara Raja of Chettinad, who was the President at the time. He was largely instrumental in shaping the Act of 1936. "The City of Madras is divided into forty administrative divisions and municipal affairs are under the control of a council consisting of not more than sixty-eight members. Of these, forty-five are divisional councillors and five are aldermen. The divisional councillors represent the forty administrative divisions together with special Adi-Dravida and labour constituencies. Three special councillors may be appointed by the Local Government, and the remaining fifteen seats are reserved for the election of the representatives of certain specified interests in the city."

The Council elects annually a Mayor, Deputy Mayor and six Standing Committees.

The chief executive officer of the Council is known as the Commissioner. He is appointed by the Local Government and is not a member of the Council.

Prominent activities of the Corporation

The prominent activities of the Corporation which, have grown into great usefulness in recent years are the maternity and child welfare scheme, the increase of Corporation primary schools, the provision of small gardens and parks in open spaces wherever available, the encouragement and an improved system of conservancy arrangement in the substitution of flush-out latrines in the place of old ones and the institution of a regular broadcasting service.

History of the protected water supply of the City

The municipal water supply of the city has had a definite history from 1866, when it was first decided to take water from the Corteliar river and its tributaries. A masonry weir was built across the Corteliar river at Tamarapakkam to the north-west of Madras; the weir diverted the waters of the river into a channel leading to the Cholavaram and Red Hills storage

tanks, which were further fed by large catchment areas. The upkeep and maintenance of these lakes and weir are in the hands of Government. But the works required to convey the water from the Red Hills Lake to Madras and to filter it and pump and distribute it were undertaken by the Corporation. About 9,330,000 cubic feet of water per annum was issued to the city, while the lakes supplied about 5,000,000 cubic feet for the irrigation of neighbouring lands.

The old system provided for an open channel conveying the water from the lake to the city and for the tapping of the lake at so high a level that pumping was necessary for considerable periods; there was also loss of water in the open channel due to evaporation and percolation, beside the danger of contamination and of breaches on the sides; above all, the water was supplied unfiltered and there was the possibility of decaying organic matter choking the pipes.

The new works for the effective improvement of the water supply were completed and formally opened in 1914 by Lord Pentland, the then Governor. They comprised machinery to remove impurities at the lake itself, a new underground conduit to replace the open channel, sand filters to purify the waters, filtered tanks to store the filtered water, pumps to impart an adequate pressure, and an elevated tank to ensure the maintenance of a steady pressure in the mains, the installation of a chlorinating plant and the remodelling and extension of the distribution system throughout Madras. The pumping station, the filter bed and the tank are located in Kilpauk. Further improvements were retarded by the Great War; and there was no possibility of coping with the increased requirements of the city, which had increased by 50 per cent. There has been pending a proposal for the acquisition of the irrigation rights of the lands under the Red Hills Lake and to reserve the lake exclusively for the city's water-supply. Again, recently a proposal has been brought forward to put an effective dam across the Corteliar, which would result in the formation of a

huge lake from which a much larger supply could be had for the city.

The total length of the roads in the city is over 350 miles; two-thirds of them are metalled, nearly one-third is tarred or asphalt-painted and small bits cement-concreted. Till 1910 Madras was lit with oil lights. From that date they were gradually replaced by electric lights, of which there were over 10,000 in 1932, controlled by several street electric lighting sub-stations.

Roads and Lighting

Reference has already been made to the provision of open drains. The present system of drainage, is known as the "partially separate system" according to which the under-ground sewers are intended primarily to convey the sewage water. It was designed about thirty years ago by Mr. J. W. Madeley, who was Special Engineer to the Corporation for nearly 20 years. The scheme was based upon pumping and hence it was decided to prevent rain water from getting into the sewers; the rain water from the road surface and the excess rain water from the house drains were to flow through the road-side ditches and the old masonry drains into the nearest water-courses such as the Otteri Nullah, the Cooum and the Buckingham Canal. After definite work had been carried out on the scheme for about 3 or 4 years, there was a practical stoppage owing to the Great War, for a time; and then the process was continued. By 1933, 12 pumping stations had been completed and one was under erection; and about 194 miles of sewers had been laid. Provision has yet to be made for the drainage of outlying areas, for the disposal of accumulated sewage and for the introduction of the water carriage system for night soil. The original scheme did not provide for the drainage of the western and northern portions of the city, as they were not sufficiently developed at the time. The scheme has therefore been or is going to be applied to Chetpat, Kilpauk, Perambur, Vyasarpady, North Tondiarpet and Mambalam. The problem of utilising the city sewage instead of

The old drainage of the city

Further improvements

letting it out into the sea as is being done at present and of separating the foul sewage into fairly clear water and sludge is awaiting solution. The water carriage of night soil which can be done only by the erection of flush-out latrines is vigorously attempted to be realised.

The Port Trust

All the recent improvements effected in the Madras Harbour and Port have been very useful in increasing the conveniences required for shipping.* "Under the Madras Port Trust Act 1905 (II of 1905) as amended up to July 1929, the affairs of the Madras Port Trust are administered by the Madras Port Trust Board consisting of 14 members and a Chairman appointed by Government. Normally the Government nominated to the Trust, the Collector of Customs, the Presidency Port Officer and the Agents or General Managers of the Railways working in

* As already noticed (p. 270. Note). All quay berths are served by railway tracks of mixed gauge to accommodate both 5 feet 6 inch and metre gauge rolling stock. There are about 30 miles of such track within the harbour. Troop-ships and emigrant vessels as well as vessels of the P. and O. British India, City and other passenger lines habitually use the quays.

Two tugs are provided for berthing and assisting steamers. The west quays are equipped with travelling hydraulic and electric cranes. There is also an oil fuel pipe line for bunkering vessels lying at the west quay berths; and this, as also water service connections, was to be extended to the new north quay under construction.

The south quay is used mainly by the Singapore and Rangoon mail steamers and spacious passenger waiting halls and customs examination rooms have been provided therein. An extensive coal yard has been provided near the south quay.

In addition to the quay berths there are ten moorings in the harbour at which vessels drawing 30 feet 0 in. can lie and handle import and export cargo by lighters. Oil from bulk oil steamers is pumped ashore at three of these berths to a distance of up to three miles from the harbour and petrol is also pumped ashore at a special berth outside the harbour.

A 9-acre boat basin serves for the safe anchorage of all small craft from 1,000 tons downwards, working in the harbour.

To the south of the basin there has been provided a 2-acre pond into which imported timber can be floated at all times as well as a sufficient number of cranes, trolleys sidings, etc., for its handling.

At the northern end of the 9-acre boat basin there is a slipway capable of taking vessels up to 900 tons dead weight. Besides the slipway there are three ramps on which smaller barges and boats can be repaired. There are large warehouses which could be leased by cargo-owners awaiting shipment.

Madras. The Board are also Conservators of the Port under the Indian Ports Act."

Tramway development in Madras

An attempt was made in 1892 to construct the first tramway line in Madras, a company for that purpose, having been incorporated in London. It was only in 1895 that the first tramway line of the city was completed and opened for use. These tramways were constructed on the conduit system, according to which the live conductor was carried underground. But soon this system was replaced by that of the over-head lines, because it frequently led to the interruption of electric lines by floods and rains. The original company was replaced in 1904 by the Madras Electric Tramways Limited. At the beginning of 1933, as a result of several extensions of the original lines, the M. E. T. service had nearly 9 miles of double track and over 7½ miles of single track. Consistent efforts have been made in recent times to speed up the service, to replace the old single tracks by double lines and to introduce bigger closed corridor cars in the place of the old open type bogie cars. In 1925, an attempt was made by the Company to run a fleet of buses but it had to be given up after three years of trial.

Town planning schemes

With regard to general town-planning, reference has already been made to the schemes of Lloyd's Road and Mambalam extensions. The former extension has been said more to serve as a warning rather than be an example. The Mambalam area has been developed under the Town Planning Act. The Mambalam Town Planning scheme was initiated by the moribund Madras City and Suburban Town Planning Trust. It was transferred to the City Corporation in 1923, sanctioned by the Government in 1925 and revised and extended by the Corporation on several occasions.*

The Madras Town Planning Trust took up the preparation of a number of other schemes of which the so-called Mylapore

* "There is a minimum restriction of 1½ grounds per plot while the area is in the main restricted for use for residential purposes. Building lines and open spaces round houses are prescribed and provision is made for housing schemes for the poor in particular parts.

Quadrilaterals were the most important. The Eastern Quadrilateral scheme was sent up to Government for sanction; but as the latter refused to finance the Trust by either loans or grants, the work was rendered abortive. Prolonged and futile negotiations with respect to the financial basis of the Trust must be deemed to be "the chief cause for the stagnation in development from which the City has suffered during the early stages of the working of the Town Planning Act, for, with the Trust in existence, there was no call for the Corporation to take up town-planning seriously."

There are a number of other areas for which schemes are essential and the general town-planning scheme for the whole city which was required to be prepared by March 1934 under the Town Planning Amending Act of 1930, has yet to be commenced.

The Corporation has a scheme for the development of the sand accretion between the Harbour and the Cooum; but the consent of the Military Department has not yet been received.

Expansion of Education

Turning to the field of education, we have to continue the narrative from the point at which we left it in Chapter XVI. The first important grant-in-aid made by Government was a building grant of Rs. 7,000 to the Harris School which was handed over to the Church Missionary Society for the erection of a school for Muhammadan youths.

Development of the Presidency College

The Presidency College as it formally came to be named in 1855, continued to be under Mr. E. B. Powell, a Senior Wrangler, who had long been Head Master of the High School; Professors of Law, Vernacular Literature and Mental and Moral Philosophy were also appointed in that year; the College was divided into two departments, the Junior and the Senior—English Literature,

Sites for public buildings of all kinds are provided and a number of parks and open spaces, with an open belt all round the area. There is an embryo civic centre in the Panagal Park and the sites surrounding it from which main roads radiate in all directions."

History, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy being taught in the Senior Department, while the vernacular languages were taught in both. The Law course was to extend over three years. The original scheme for the Presidency College was that it should have consisted of four departments, General, Medical, Legal and Civil Engineering. But the Medical School which was started as early as 1835 and subsequently developed into a College in 1851, could not be amalgamated with the Presidency College.

Other Auxiliary institutions

The Revenue Board Survey School which was established in 1834 with the object of training a number of surveyors, became the nucleus of the College of Engineering. There were two other professional institutions which came into prominence about the same time. The School of Ordnance Artificers, started by Colonel Maitland in 1840, was now reorganised as a Government institution, chiefly for the benefit of Eurasian youths; and the School of Arts which was first opened in Black Town in 1850 by Dr. Hunter, supplemented by the School of Industry, came also to flourish; and it received marked encouragement in the Despatch of 1854.

Early growth of the Madras University

The primary object with which the University of Madras constituted in 1857 was "the purpose of ascertaining by means of examinations the persons who have obtained proficiency in different branches of literature, science and art, and of rewarding them by academical degrees as evidence of their respective attainments and marks of honour proportioned thereto." The first Entrance or Matriculation Examination was held in September 1857, and the first B.A. Examination in February 1858. In 1863-64 the First Examination in Arts was interposed between the Matriculation and the B.A. The course for the B.A. Degree Examination was to extend over three years, and candidates for F.A. were allowed to qualify for the examination one year after matriculating. A few years later the interval between the Matriculation and the F.A. was extended to 2 years so that

"those who matriculated in 1869 could go up for the F.A. Examination only in 1871."

The Madras Medical College

The Madras Medical College was established in 1835 by Sir Frederick Adam, the then Governor, as a school in which were to be trained subordinates for the Medical Department. As noticed in a previous chapter it was made into a College in 1851 and transferred to the Education Department a few years later. The College consisted of two departments. The Senior or University Department trained students for qualifying for the M.B. & C.M. and L.M. & S. Degrees of the University. The lower department of the College was for military hospital apprentices qualifying as military apothecaries and civil hospital apprentices qualifying for employment under Government. Until 1883 there was a third of junior department qualifying pupils for employment as military and civil hospital assistants. This department was later transferred to the Royapuram Auxiliary Medical School which was established in 1877, to meet a deficiency in the strength of the subordinate medical service during the great Madras famine of that year.

The Civil Engineering College

The Civil Engineering College was first established in 1834 as a Government Survey School for training men for service in the Revenue Department. In 1859 it was developed into a Civil Engineering School to meet the requirements of the Public Works Department. Two years later, a special class for surveying, drawing and estimating was formed; while an officers' surveying class was added shortly afterwards. In 1862, the institution was raised to be a College by the addition of a senior department for the supply of engineers for Government service. The Collegiate or University Department trained commissioned officers of the Army and civil candidates for services as assistant engineers in the Public Works Department as well as for the degree of Bachelor in the Faculty of Civil Engineering at the University. The school department has been training students of all classes for the various grades of upper and lower

subordinates and of the office establishments of the Public Works Department.

The law classes continued to be conducted at the Presidency College till Mr. Grigg's proposal for the creation of a separate Law College made in 1888 was approved by Government and sanctioned finally by the Secretary of State in 1891. Mr. E. B. Powell was in charge of the Presidency College till 1862, when he was promoted to be the Director of Public Instruction. He was succeeded by Mr. Edmund Thompson who laboured on for thirteen years and did most useful work.

In 1870-71, the two first-grade colleges in the City were the Presidency College and the Free Church Mission Institution which first sent up candidates for B.A. 1868-69. Besides these there were the Doveton Protestant College and the Sullivan's Garden Seminary which was partly a theological institution.

Further educational development

Government took over the School of Industrial Art in 1855 while a committee assisted by Dr. Hunter laid down rules and an elaborate course of instruction which quickly deteriorated on account of lack of competent teachers and apt pupils. The institution had, however, supplied the model for similar schools started in Calcutta and Bombay. It grew under the fostering care of Mr. Chisholm who was for long its head. A new section known as the Drawing and Painting Academy was instituted, where the course of instruction adopted was similar to that at the South Kensington Institute and aimed at counteracting "the injurious influence which the large importations of European manufactures of the worst possible designs have had on the native handicrafts and also to train students for engraving and other useful occupations."

The Board of Examiners

In 1854, the College of Fort St. George was abolished* and a Board of Examiners was instituted in its place. In 1861 the Commissionership for the Uncovenanted Civil Service Examinations was

* The Board for the College of Fort St. George, started in 1812 on the model of Lord Wellesley's College of Fort William, was designed to instruct the junior civil servants who came to Madras from

instituted and entrusted to the Director of Public Instruction. In the same year, the Library of the Madras College was transferred to the Government Central Book Depot. In 1867, the Board of Examiners was also abolished; a committee for the examination of assistants was constituted; the staff of munshies was dispensed with; and the Oriental Manuscripts collection was transferred to the charge of the Director of Public Instruction. The Board of Examiners was again reconstituted in 1882.

In 1861, a large number of volumes was sent out to Madras from the surplus stock of the libraries at the Haileybury College and the India Office; and this collection was handed over by Government to the Museum to form the nucleus of a public library. This collection was largely increased and later became the nucleus of the public library attached to the Museum (now the Connemara Public Library). Government had also largely helped the Madras Literary Society started by Sir Thomas Newbolt, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, in 1817 and managed by a Committee.

A short review is given below of other educational and quasi-educational activities that have marked the growth of the Madras City in recent times.

Other Governmental institutions

The Government Industrial Institute, Madras, was first started at Coonoor under the name of the Minor Chemical Laboratory. It was transferred to Madras in 1922 and is now engaged in the experimental manufactures of printer's ink, and of paints including white lead.

England, in the literature, law and languages of the country. It also undertook to train munshies and candidates for the posts of pleaders and judges in the native Courts and to bring out either by direct publication or with financial assistance works on the languages of the country. It kept up a depot for the sale and loan of Oriental manuscripts transferred to it from the Museum of the Madras Literary Society. It was this College that helped in the bringing out of works like Campbell's 'Telugu Grammar,' Morris's Telugu Dictionary.' Rottler's 'Dictionary of the Tamil Language,' Reeve's 'Karnataka Dictionary' and numerous other works which paved the way for a critical study of the linguistics, literature and philology of the Dravidian languages.

The Leather Trades Institute was opened in 1915 with the object of improving the methods of manufacturing leather, while the conception of the school-course was that it should consist mainly of practical work in the school tannery. Arrangements were made in 1925-26 for the conduct of an English lecture class on Madras methods of tanning for professional tanners and others interested in the trade. In 1926 a class for the training of *maistris* and tanning operators was started at Pallavaram. The Institute, however, failed to attract much attention. In January 1930 the industrial side of the Institute was abandoned.

The Government sanctioned the opening of a Textile Institute in Madras in 1922. The scope of the Institute has been enlarged and one of its main objects at present is to train the men necessary for the urgently needed revival of the handloom-weaving industry.

The Madras Trades School (now styled Government School of Technology) was started in 1916 with the object of supplying the industrial public with intelligent and skilled engineers, mechanics, electricians and plumbers equipped with sound theoretical and practical knowledge. The subjects taught are (1) mechanical engineering, (2) electrical wiring, (3) electrical engineering, (4) plumbing, (5) mechanical drawing and (6) printing. The printing classes were opened in 1925 for the benefit of the more intelligent of the young men and the learners employed in the various presses.

An Agricultural College was opened in 1876 at Saidapet, but was shifted to Coimbatore in 1908. A separate Veterinary College was opened in 1902. The staff was increased gradually. The College was recently affiliated to the Madras University for the course of studies leading to the degree of Bachelor of Veterinary Science.

In 1933, the Auxiliary Royapuram Medical School was renamed the Stanley Medical School in honour of the then Governor, Sir George Stanley. In 1923, there was started the Lady Willingdon Medical School, exclusively for women. In

1938, the Stanley Medical School and the Lady Willingdon Medical School were both abolished and replaced by the Stanley Medical College, which would mean the abolition of the distinction between L.M.P.'s and graduates in Medicine. The Madras Medical College has been extensively added to; and it has been training lady students from 1878.

The School of Indian Medicine was established in 1924 mainly through the efforts of the then Chief Minister, the Rajah of Panagal, and affords facilities for training in the Ayurveda, Siddha and Unani systems, with a working knowledge of western medicine and the prefatory sciences.

The King Institute of Preventive medicine is situated at Guindy, about six miles from the city and is named after the late Col. W. G. King, C.I.E., I.M.S., who, as the Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of Madras, was primarily responsible for its inception. The Institute was opened in 1905 by Lord Ampthill, then Governor of Madras. Originally designed to serve as a lymph-depot to supply vaccine lymph to the whole province, its activities have, however, extended enormously since that time. It is now one of the three large provincial laboratories in India, functioning as (a) a central vaccine-lymph depot, (b) the provincial bacteriological laboratory and (c) the provincial public health laboratory.

Development of higher education in recent years.

The development of higher education in recent years in the Madras city has been outlined by the Rev. Fr. L. D. Murphy, S.J., Principal, Loyola College, Madras, thus:—

"The Presidency College collegiate courses date from 1853, when the college existed in a rented building in Egmore. The present magnificent site on the Marina was occupied in 1870. New groups were added as the years rolled by. These in turn called for new buildings. In 1937 a new zoology department was opened on a very generous scale and the building harmonises well with the dignity of its site. The chief academic distinction of the Presidency College is the large

variety of the honours courses and the careful selection of the candidates admitted to them. It is in fact almost an honours college and one observes the increasing number of women students competing successively with their men folk for the chief honours.

"The Madras Christian College is of Madras but not in it. Its collegiate existence began in 1865 though as an institution it had been founded some thirty years previously. Along with Loyola College is 'rejoices' in the name of a missionary college. It is a Christian institution supported by a great number of 'missionary' bodies in Scotland, England, and America. They have made history in the city of Madras and their reputation is adorned not merely with scholarship, but with that rarer gift, the abiding affection of former students. Situated as the college was in the most congested area of Madras, development in latter years became impossible. Its new residence at Tambaràm at the terminus of the Electric Railway is well worth a visit. Systematic planning on a lavish scale with an attempt to reproduce in small something of the collegiate existence of the Home universities has given an added note of distinction so that Tambaram is not only a newer, but a new Madras Christian College."

"Pachaiyappa's College has also decided to move out of Madras. Its Greek façade rises strugglingly above a welter of small huckstering shops.... The college will celebrate the 50th year of its existence near year (1939-40) and practical steps have been well advanced to transfer the college to the vicinity of their fine block of hostels at Chetput in the direction of Loyola College."

"Loyola College set a wise example when it decided to reside on the outskirts of the city, far enough away to escape from the noise, the dust, the infection and congestion of the city and yet near enough to be within easy reach by train or bus. This is one of the many Jesuit educational institutions that are dotted over the map of India. It is the most recent

also. When it was opened in 1925 it was unique in aiming at an almost exclusively residential life.

"The Government Muhammadan College is twenty years old. It occupies a commanding site in Mount Road and with its distinguished staff will draw in time to itself all the Muslim students at present scattered in the different colleges of the city."

"A very notable feature of Education in the Madras Presidency is the rapid progress of higher education amongst girls...... Queen Mary's College whose whitewashed exterior is not architecturally the brightest spot on the Marina, is a Government Institution. The Women's Christian College sister to the Men's Christian College, lies hidden away in the quiet retirement of its pleasant acres near Nungambakam."

The development of the Madras University in the present century

The function of the Madras University was till 1904 limited to affiliation and examination, when as a result of the commission appointed by the Government of India in 1902, the Indian Universities Act VIII of 1904, was passed in order to strengthen the educated element in the Senate, to increase the proportion of elected Fellows, to extend the powers of the University in respect of the control, inspection and affiliation of colleges, and to enable the University to undertake the work of teaching and research. But in spite of this Act, the University continued to be almost entirely an examining body. The resolution of the Government of India on its general education policy issued in 1913 and the special imperial grants that were made available for expanding the activities of the Universities rendered it possible for the Madras University to make a beginning in developing its teaching functions. Three University chairs—one for Indian History and Archaeology, a second for Comparative Philology, and a third for Indian Economics—were founded in 1914 and occupied by distinguished scholars.

With the object, therefore, of establishing a teaching and residential University in Madras and with a view to organize

and develop the teaching resources existing in the City, to promote co-operation and reciprocity among the Colleges in Madras and to develop inter-collegiate activities and amenities, a bill remodelling the University of Madras was introduced and passed by the Legislative Council into law. The Act (VII of 1923) came into force on the 19th May 1923.

An important development under the new Act has been the assumption of the function of teaching especially in the higher ranges of study, and the encouraging of research. The unwieldy suze to which the federating functions of the Madras University led it, coupled with the demand for unitary and teaching and regional and linguistic Universities, has led to the formation of the Andhra University in 1926, for the Telugu area and later of the Annamalai University in 1929—the latter being a teaching and residential institution developed out of a college by the munificence of Raja Sir Annamalai Chettyar of Chettinad.

The Government have subsidized the Madras University to a large extent for the construction of research laboratories for Zoology and Bio-chemistry and the University has agreed to provide laboratory for Botany out of its own funds.

In addition to several other departments of teaching and research such as Indian History and Archaeology, Economics, Philosophy, Oriental Research, Geography and Mathematics, Politics and Music, Indian Languages (comprehended in an Oriental Institute) the Madras University has attached to it three Science Research Laboratories. These are the Zoology, the Botany and the Bio-chemistry Departments.

The Corporation and primary education

A very commendable feature in the educational activity of the city has been the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in the city and the devotion to an increasingly larger and larger proportion of funds for the purpose.*

* Prior to the year 1910, expenditure from Corporation funds on education was mainly confined to the disbursement of teaching grants to elementary schools in the City under private management and to the maintenance of an elementary school at Chetput which was

The Madras Chamber of Commerce

Turning our attention to the development of commerce in Madras in the last several decades, it is the duty of the chronicler of the growth of the city to mention the Madras Chamber of Commerce, which celebrated its centenary in 1936. It was in 1936 that the institution was started by some of the old-time merchants of Madras among whom may be mentioned J. W. Dare, W. S. Binny and J. A. Arbuthnot. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce was established only one week before the Madras Chamber. In 1856, the Madras Trades Association was formed, as a kind of sister organ, for the expression of the views of the mercantile community in the city. Government wished as early as 1836 that some of the principal native merchants of the Presidency should be enrolled among the members of the Chamber; but they were informed that only two natives connected with the trade of the port had expressed their wish to become its members. The Chamber celebrated its 50th anniversary in September 1886 under the presidency of Sir George Arbuthnot, its then President, who was a nephew of its first president, Mr. J. A. Arbuthnot. It continues to occupy a very prominent position in the politics of the city.

opened by the Corporation in the year 1906. In 1908, the Corporation agreed to construct and maintain forty model elementary schools within a period of ten years. In 1921, a beginning was made towards the starting of elementary schools exclusively for girls. In the year 1924, the Corporation took a bolder and a more progressive step in the matter of elementary education when it resolved to introduce free and compulsory education in divisions 24 to 27 as an experimental measure. In 1925, it further resolved to levy an education cess of ½ per cent. and to contribute annually a sum of Rs. 2.4 lakhs to the Elementary Education Fund from the general revenues of the Corporation. The Government accepted the principle of gradual introduction of elementary education in the city and, in particular, approved the introduction of compulsory elementary education for boys and girls (non-Muslims) in divisions 24 to 27 during the year 1925-26. In 1926, the Government sanctioned the introduction of compulsion in divisions 28 to 30 with effect from 1st January 1927. The success that attended the scheme emboldened the Corporation to introduce it in other parts of the city and also to include within its scope Muslim boys and girls. Within 3 years compulsion had become complete in all parts of the city. Secondary and technical education has been largely promoted by indigenous effort and missionary agency—of the latter the fruits of the labours of the Ramakrishna Mission may be remembered.

In the words of its *Centenary Hand-book,* the history of the Madras Chamber of Commerce illustrates the increasing burden placed upon commercial organisations in India as a result of constitutional reform, in connection with both legislation and administration. This has been especially noticeable in recent years, when constitutional reform was being discussed and shaped.''*

The M.E.S.C. Ltd.

The Madras Electric Supply Corporation Ltd., was registered in 1906, being the first company in South India and still the largest of its kind; it commenced to supply electric current to the public in August 1907 and also the whole of the power required by the Government, the Port Trust, the two Railway Companies, the Corporation, the Madras Electric Tramways and other chief undertakings in the city.

Oil development

Going to the history of oil in Madras, we find that as early as 1889, Messrs. Best & Co., began to distribute and market kerosene in the city; while Messrs. Spencer & Co., had begun to retail American kerosene even before this date. Messrs. Samuel & Co., were the progenitors of the Burmah Shell Oil Storage and Distributing Co., Ltd., and they were incorporated about 1893 in the Shell Transport and Trading Co. Later, the Royal Dutch Oil Co., started business; but in 1906, the Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd., took over the interest of the Royal Dutch and the Shell

* Mr. A. A. Hayles, the compiler of the *Madras Chamber of Commerce Centenary Handbook,* thus succinctly states the position of the European mercantile community in the present day Madras politics:—

"In the early days the Chamber of Commerce had, perforce, to concern itself with political matters, being one of the few organized bodies of Europeans in the country. With the assumption of the governance of India by the Crown, a purely British administration was established, to which the Chambers of Commerce had to make representations in matters of policy. Then came the policy of increasing the association of Indians with the administration, and the European community were asked to take a share in the work of the New Legislatures which were set up. As this policy extended, this share has gradually increased, until now, with the transfer of power to Indian hands, the community has been faced with the necessity of setting up its own political organisations."

Transport Companies. Messrs. Best & Co., continued to act as agents of the new company until 1928 when the Burmah Shell was formed. The Burmah Oil Company had erected tanks on the sand accretion as early as 1905; and it now came to be incorporated in the new Company. The Burmah Shell has been acting as agents in India for the Asiatic Petroleum Company, the Burmah Oil Company and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. It has been concentrating all storage facilities in Tondiarpet; and it controls five up-country divisional offices, 180 up-country depots and over 400 agents and dealers. In 1933 Burmah-Shell moved from the premises of Messrs. Best & Co., Ltd., to its towering four-storeyed building on the Esplanade.*

The Cotton Mills

Madras has never been and probably never will be, a great industrial centre, as two essentials are lacking, namely, coal within easy reach, and a sufficient water supply on the spot. The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills,† founded by Messrs. Binny & Co., stand on the only channel available for industry, *viz.*, the Oteri Nullah, in the north-west quarter of the city. Here are employed about

* "It was in September 1914 that the German Cruiser "Emden" suddenly appeared off Madras and shelled the B.O.C. Installation on the sand accretion. The following extract from a private account describes this raid: "......Five tanks were hit. A shell burst on the verandah of the manager's house and the next destroyed his bed, after he had left it. More shots passed through the sheds, and although one burst in a stock of packed oil, it was not set on fire. About 350,000 gallons of oil were lost from the tanks, and the damage to buildings was considerable. An Indian watchman was killed. The first shot was fired at 9-20 p.m. on 22nd September, and the bombardment lasted about twenty minutes or so, ceasing when the Emden's fire was returned by the Madras guns. We are pleased to be able to record that Mr. Ellis, the Installation Manager, after removing his family, returned and worked the pump under fire until one of the shells destroyed the water service line...... (Pages 53 and 54 of "Chamber of Commerce Centenary Handbook.")

† "The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills were first registered under the Indian Companies Act as separate limited companies on 17th August 1876 and 30th June 1881 respectively and Messrs. Binny & Co., were appointed Managing Agents of both Companies.

"The Buckingham Mill Company, Limited, commenced work on the site it now occupies in Perambur in January 1878; and in June of that year 15,000 spindles were working. From that date the

11,000 hands, and "in the conditions of employment offered these Mills have set an example to Indian industry." The Choolai Mills started and run by Gujarati enterprise may also be noted.

Some old Madras firms

Among the old firms with an eighteenth century back-ground, may be mentioned Messrs. Parry & Co., still going strong, founded by Thomas Parry, free merchant, who settled in business in Madras in 1788. By 1824, the firm came to be strongly entrenched as one of the leading houses of agency in Madras; and on Parry's death in that year, it was conducted by his partner J. W. Dare, who became one of the leading lights of the Madras commercial world in his days. Parry's Corner, so well known to citizens of Madras, was acquired by Thomas Parry in 1803. The old buildings will be shortly replaced by a magnificent pile that is beginning to rise on the site. Messrs. Binny & Co. have a history that goes certainly to 1769, so far as persons bearing the name of Binny had business connections with Madras, because Charles Binny arrived in India in that year and became, a few years later, Secretary to Nawab Wallajah. John Binny, the founder of the firm, was related to Charles Binny and reached India in 1797. He also entered the Nawab's service and lived in a garden house, that is now occupied by Messrs. Spencer & Co., and the Connemara Hotel. At first the

number of spindles was gradually increased until in 1890, 35,000 spindles were at work. In the year 1893 weaving was first begun in Buckingham Mill when 600 power-looms were installed. The Carnatic Mill Co., Ltd., commenced work, on a site adjacent to Buckingham Mill in January 1884, with 16,500 spindles and 129 looms.

"The Mill was rapidly extended and in 1890 there were 29,048 spindles and 491 looms at work.

"The Mills have also assisted in the encouragement of new and improved strains of South Indian cottons, with the same end in view.

"The total number of Indian employees in the two mills in the year 1888 was about 1,200; to-day there are about 10,000 Indian employees.

"In 1920 the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills were amalgamated into a Company, along with four Pressing and Ginning Companies also managed by Binny & Co. (Madras) Ltd., and Nellimarla Jute Mill, the new Company being registered under the name of the Buckingham and Carnatic Co., Ltd., with a capital of Rs. 25,00,000.'

concern was known as Binny and Dennison; and it was only in 1814 that it came to be known as Binny & Co. It was this firm that initiated the starting of the Madras Chamber of Commerce. In 1906, it was turned into a limited liability company; and in 1920 the interests of the Company in London and Madras were divided; and a new company, named Binny & Co. (Madras) Ltd., came to be formed.*

Turning from the numerous houses of trade and industry maintained by both European and Indian agencies, we have got to note the Southern India Chamber of Commerce composed of leading Indian merchants, bankers and industrialists of South India, which was formed about three decades ago by the efforts of Sir P. Theagaraya Chettiar and Diwan Bahadur Govindoss Chathurbhuja Doss the latter being a leading member of the Gujarati community of Madras; and the Andhra Chamber of Commerce, which was formed a few years back mainly through the efforts of some of the Andhra merchants of Madras. Apart from the Madras Bank which recently came to be incorporated into the Imperial Bank of India, and other long-standing banks of foreign origin like the Mercantile Bank, the Chartered Bank and the National Bank, we may notice the rise of purely indigenous banking concerns of which the oldest and one of the strongest is the Indian Bank Limited, founded in 1907 by the efforts of among others, the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Diwan Bahadur M. Adinarayana Ayya and Diwan Bahadur S. R. M. Ramaswami Chettiar, an elder brother of the Rajah of Chettinad. The banking business, has been growing in volume; and the current of indigenous banking enterprise is flowing very strongly.

* "The interests of Binny & Co. include cotton and woollen mills, shipping, insurance, engineering and the import of piece goods. In shipping the Company have held the Agency of the B.I.S.N. Co., Ltd., since that Company was formed, and to-day, in addition, holds the agency of the P. & O. S. N. Co., the Orient Line and other steamer lines. The Company holds many agencies for fire and marine insurance and life assurances.

The Company's cotton and woollen interests are connected with the Managing Agency of the Buckingham and Carnatic Co., Ltd., and the Bangalore Woollen, Cotton and Silk Mills Ltd."

XVIII

MADRAS IN THE PRESENT CENTURY

PART II

Conclusion

Recreational institutions in Madras

BESIDES the Madras Literary Society of which mention has been made, Madras can boast of a Fine Arts Society which holds an annual exhibition of pictures and other works of art, an Agri-Horticultural Society which manages the fine garden opposite the Cathedral and holds an annual flower-show, a Musical Association and an Amateur Dramatic Society which stages its plays in the fine, though small, theatre attached to the Museum Buildings, besides a couple of Indian music academies. The very fine Cosmopolitan Club in Mount Road, founded over 60 years back; the South Indian Athletic Association in the People's Park, founded early in this century; the Suguna Vilasa Subha, an amateur dramatic association of great usefulness whose birth goes back to the closing decade of the last century and which has done much to create and sustain the histrionic talents of South Indians and has now got its own spacious premises in Mount Road; the Madras United Club, also with half a century of activity behind it; and the recently formed Presidency Club are the chief resorts of the upper classes of Indians affording social, intellectual and recreational facilities. Among the Indians of the middle and upper classes, the club-going habit has largely spread in imitation of the Europeans. For the recreation of the European and Anglo-Indian residents, there are the famous Madras Club to which reference has already been made; the Adyar Club at the end of Mowbray's Road; the Madras Cricket Club in Chepauk; the Gymkhana Club in the Island and the recreational associations started by the Railway companies. Of these associations, the Cosmopolitan Club and the Adyar Club require some notice. The Cosmopolitan Club was founded in 1873 with " the object of affording greater facilities for

social inter-course between Indian and European gentlemen in Madras, providing a good reading room and a really good library, affording opportunities for occasional lectures, discussions, readings and kindred objects, supplying a place where gentlemen residing in the mofussil visiting Madras might meet their friends and make appointments and providing means for introducing European visitors to Madras to the principal residents and thereby affording some insight into Indian society." The first club house was the property of Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur and was located till 1882 in Nungambakam. In that year, the Club entered on its spacious premises in Mount Road. Recently a boat club and golf links were opened at Saidapet about two miles from the club premises as a sort of adjunct. The Club enjoys the unique position of being the best Indian association in the whole of India.

With regard to the Adyar Club, it was the historic Mowbray House; its spacious rooms, surmounted by a great white cupola, stand in grounds "so extensive as to deserve the title of park wherein there is a room for a riding track, a golf course and several tennis courts"; while a broad open terrace on the southern side of the house overlooks the Adyar river.

Early political associations in Madras

Turning now to the political activities of the city of Madras in the last half-century and more, the growth of the Madras Mahajana Sabha may be noticed. The Mahajana Sabha was the first great political organisation of the *intelligentsia* to be started and came rapidly into vigorous proportions and influence. It was under the auspices of that Sabha that the first provincial conference was held in Madras. From the time of Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chettiar and his pioneer paper, the 'Crescent', we have to step on to the days when Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao, with the help of a few others, launched the paper entitled 'Native Public Opinion'. However it quickly passed into undesirable hands and soon became defunct. This was in 1887. Soon afterwards the 'Hindu' took its place and brought forth its first issue on the 20th September 1878. Among its first

promoters, two names stand out prominently, namely, those of G. Subrahmanya Aiyar and N. Subba Rao Pantulu, the latter being still happily spared to us. Side by side with the 'Hindu', a political association under the old name of the Madras Native Association was organised with the late Sir V. Bashyam Aiyangar as its first president. The 'Hindu' developed in 1883 into a tri-weekly from a weekly. In the next year, the late Rai Bahadur P. Anantacharlu, assisted by Mr. Pitti Muniswami Chetty, the eldest of the Pitti brothers, began to publish a monthly known as the 'The People's Magazine'. Mr. Anantacharlu himself and the redoutable Mr. P. Rangiah Naidu had started the Madras Mahajana Sabha. The 'Hindu' became a daily in 1889 and its office served for a number of years as the home for the Mahajana Sabha.

The 'Hindu'

In 1892 this remarkable newspaper came into possession of the building which has housed it for nearly half a century. Five years later, Mr. G. Subrahmanya Aiyar terminated his connection with the paper which came for some time under the editorship of Mr. C. Karunakara Menon. All this time, it had the benefit of the lead of Mr. M. Viraraghavacharya, who was its chief directing genius. Its silver jubilee year fell in 1903. Two years later, it came into the possession of the late Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, who struggled very hard in order to build up its prosperity, strength and popularity. During all the hard years of intermittent political repression that followed, the 'Hindu' struggled manfully, with Mr. Aiyangar at the rudder of both editorial and administrative steering, both Karunakara Menon and Viraraghavacharya having gone out of the editorial office, the former starting a daily paper of his own and the latter taking ill. During the tense days of the Governorship of Sir Arthur Lawley (1906—11) and Lord Pentland, (1912—19) the 'Hindu' kept up a very bold front and it was only after about 1920 that its reinforced strength came to be manifest to the world. The paper has been recently entirely remodelled in appearance and arrangement of matter; and the printing and other apparatus for news-

acquisition have been brought up to the most recent level of development.

The 'Madras Mail'

Side by side with the 'Hindu' may be noted 'The Madras Mail' which also celebrated its diamond jubilee, along with its compeer, in the year 1928. Sir Charles Lawson and Mr. Henry Cornish were the joint editors of the *'Madras Times'* that was started into life in 1860; but they quarrelled with the proprietor and started a new journal of their own, the "Madras Mail", the first issue of which appeared on December 14, 1878. The paper has been keeping up a continuously vital life, adjusting itself to the needs of the times and often presenting points of view on matters of public interest that have not been appreciated by Government and by other dominant political interests. It has built up a tradition of vigorous independence of views and comments; and its able succession of editors, comprehending such names as Sir Charles Lawson and Mr. H. K. Beauchamp, has been a noteworthy feature in the history of Madras editorial talent. In January 1921, the management of the paper which was hitherto a partnership, was transformed into a private company and the offices were shifted from George Town to spacious premises in the Mount Road.

Apart from several of the old papers now defunct, Madras can boast of the 'Swadesamitran' a long-standing Tamil paper, started by the founders of the 'Hindu' in 1880, for enlightening the masses in public affairs. The 'New India' of Mrs. Besant which was started in the hectic days of the Great War, the 'Swarajya' of which Mr. T. Prakasam was the soul and the 'Justice' which was the avowed organ of the Justice Party, struggled manfully for some years before they disappeared. Among other newspapers may be mentioned the recently started 'Indian Express' and the 'Tamil Nadu', its Tamil counterpart, besides the 'Andhra Patrika' founded by the late K. Nageswara Rao, which is the most important Telugu daily of the Presidency. Among the Madras journals of intellectual

interest may be noted Mr. G. A. Natesan's 'Indian Review' with forty years of life and a continuous and sustained growth behind it.

Turning to the activities of the Indian National Congress in the life of the Madras city, we have first to note the 14th session held in December 1898 under the presidency of Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose and with Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu as the chairman of the reception committee. The session was not very momentous, though clouds were then gathering on the political horizon and the prevailing famine and plague in the country exercised a depressing influence.

The Madras Sessions of the National Congress

Then five years later, in 1903, the Congress again met in Madras in its 19th session, at which representatives from Burma attended for the first time. The president of the reception committee was Nawab Syed Muhammad Sahib Bahadur and the president was Lal Mohan Ghose, who ably and vehemently reviewed the events of Lord Curzon's administration. Nawab Syed Muhammad urged that Hindus and Muhammadans had common political interests and should always act in harmony and suggested that a statue to the noble Lord Ripon should be erected in Madras. His suggestion was carried out only after the lapse of a number of years. After the lamentable split in the Congress ranks at the Surat Session of 1907, the 23rd session was held in Madras in December 1908, under the constitution drawn up by the Convention Committee appointed at Surat with Diwan Bahadur K. Krishnaswamy Rao, a retired Diwan of Travancore, as the chairman of the reception committee and Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose as the president. The session was held in a huge *pandal* in the Elphinstone Grounds in Mount Road; and the moving spirit of the Congress as well as of its modified constitution, was the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar.

Again in 1914, the 29th session assembled in Madras in the grounds of Doveton House, Nungambakam, the chairman of the reception committee being the venerable Dr. Sir S.

Subrahmanya Aiyar and the president being Mr. B. N. Basu. Lord Pentland, the Governor of the Province, visited the Congress when it was in full session and was greeted on arrival by the spontaneous rising of the assemblage and by hearty applause. It was the first visit ever paid by a representative of the Crown to the Congress. Mrs. Annie Besant, who had now become a most prominent political figure, participated in the work of this Congress.*

Mrs. Annie Besant made the Theosophical Society head-quarters a model and well-planned suburb of Madras; and she was also a most prominent figure in South Indian politics and journalism for a number of years. In the Great War she took up a raging and tearing propaganda of a nebulous scheme known as Home Rule for India and came into conflict with the Government of Lord Pentland, being interned for a time along with two co-workers. She was very helpful in promoting the re-union of the two hostile elements into which the National Congress had split in 1908. Her influence was felt in almost every field of cultural activity in Madras and she remained a dominant figure of Madras society till her death a few years back.

The next time that the Congress met at Madras after 1914 was in 1927, when under the presidency of Dr. M. A. Ansari

* In connection with the part played by Mrs. Annie Besant in the recent history of Madras, one may well attribute to her genius and work the success and acclimatization of the Theosophical Society in India, with Madras as its head-quarters. The 'Mysterious Madame' H. P. Blavatsky, founded the Theosophical Society in 1875 in the U.S.A.; and she and her co-worker Col. H. S. Olcott both came to India in 1879 and made Adyar, a village on the southern bank of the Adyar River opposite San Thomé, the head-quarters of their movement in 1886. London was, however, the real home of Madame Blavatsky; while Col. Olcott leaned markedly towards the Buddhism of Ceylon. The influence and strength to which the Theosophical Society has attained in India are mainly due to Mrs. Annie Besant, who joined the Society in 1889 and became its leading spirit soon afterwards. With the magnetic and hurricane force that her moral energy was capable of putting forth, Mrs. Besant allied the Theosophical Society to the Hindu revivalist movement and turned Theosophy into something that may be called specifically Hindu in character. She became the leading spirit of the Society from 1893 and the President of the Society in 1907 after Olcott's death.

and the guidance of Sriman S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, a most successful was held and the Working Committee was charged to convene an All-India All-Parties Conference to put forward a united Indian scheme for a new constitution, in reply to a compelling challenge thrown by Lord Birkenhead. More important for the city of Madras was the bequeathal of a large sum of money by the Reception Committee being the surplus of the funds collected by the Committee and its treasurer from out of which the Congress House was built in Royapettah. This building has since become the pivot of all political activities of the Congress Party and the place where the Congress forces of the Province have their gravitating point.

Changes in the constitution of Government

In 1880 the Government of Madras was vested in the Governor and his Council of three members, two members of the Indian Civil Service and the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. The Legislative Council then consisted of the members of the Government and eight additional nominated members, of whom six were non-officials. By the India Councils Act of 1892, the number of these additional members was raised to 20, excluding the Advocate-General. But the official majority continued, though the Council as a whole could now put interpellations and discuss, but not vote upon, budgets. In 1895, the separate Madras Army was abolished and along with it the post of Commander-in-Chief for Madras. With him disappeared one of the great and picturesque offices of the Madras Government and the Executive Council came to be composed of the two Civilian members alone besides the Governor.

By the Reform Act of 1909, the Legislative Council was still further enlarged; it was now composed of 42 additional members of whom 19 were elected. The principle of an official majority in the Chamber disappeared; and members could now move resolutions on matters of public importance and ask supplementary questions on replies to interpellations. An Indian Member was first appointed to the Executive Council in the person of the Maharajah of Bobbili. The Government of India Act of 1919

divided the Madras Government into two parts, the Members of Council administering the Reserved Departments and the Ministers controlling the Transferred Departments and being responsible to the Legislature, which became a separate body having its own President and enjoying the right of discussing and voting on the budget, besides the power of moving for the adjournment of the business of the Council on matters of urgent importance. A second Indian Member was now added to the Executive Council. The Ministry under the scheme of Dyarchy that was thus instituted had, with but a break of four years from 1926 to 1930, been dominated by the Justice Party that came into being in 1918 under the ægis of the late Dr. T. M. Nair and Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty. Consequent upon the introduction of Provincial Autonomy by the Government of India Act of 1935, elections were held for both the Chambers of the Madras Legislature early in 1937, which resulted in the return of an overwhelming majority in both Houses for the Congress Party; and a new autonomous Congress Ministry was formed in July 1937 with Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, one of the trusted lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi, as the Prime Minister.

The Madras Governors in the present century

The first Governor of Madras in the present century was Lord Ampthill (1901—1906) who was the Private Secretary to the great Joseph Chamberlain (father of the present British Prime Minister) and a son of the famous diplomat Lord Odo Russell. Lord Ampthill acted as Viceroy and Governor-General during the absence of Lord Curzon on leave in 1904. Then came Sir Arthur Lawley who was the administrator of Matabeleland and the Governor of Western Australia as well as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal before he became the Governor of Madras (1906—1911). It was he that began to work the scheme of the Reform Act of 1909 in Madras. Then came Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, later Baron Carmichael, who had succeeded Mr. Gladstone as member for Midlothian in Parliament and had been also the Governor

of Victoria in Australia. He was the Governor of Madras only for a few months when he was promoted to be the Governor of the reunited and restored Presidency of Bengal in 1912. Then came Lord Pentland, who was the Secretary for Scotland in the Liberal Administration of 1905—1912 and a notable Liberal politician. He was Governor for over seven years from 1912—1919 and took great interest in the educational improvement of the Presidency. He was followed by Lord Willingdon, who had considerable Indian experience as Governor of Bombay (1913—1919) and of Madras (1919—1924) and again served the country as its Governor-General (1931—1936), the interval between his Governorship and Governor-Generalship being filled in by his tenure of the office of the Governor-Generalship of Canada. He worked the scheme of Dyarchy very successfully in Madras and associated himself with all the cultural and social activities in the city. It was Lord Willingdon that initiated the great Pykara project and the construction of the Mettur Dam. He was ably seconded by his wife, the Lady Willingdon, in the patronage and promotion of several good causes in the Presidency.

The next Governors were Lord Goschen (1924—1929), son of the famous Chancellor of the Exchequer of that name; Sir George Stanley of the House of Derby (1929—1934) who acted for some time as Viceroy; and Lord Erskine the present Governor. In 1934 and in 1936 when the Governorship fell temporarily vacant, it was filled up by the appointment of two Indians, namely, Sir Muhammad Usman Sahib and Sir K. Venkata Reddy Naidu, both of whom were the respective Senior Members of the Executive Council at the time; thus for the first time in the history of Madras the Governorship of the Presidency came to be occupied by Indians.

The City of Madras has been fortunately free from terrorist crimes except one that happened a few years ago. The memory of the services rendered by Madras to Britain in the Great War have been perpetuated in the city by the erection of the Victory

Memorial to the south of the Fort on the South (or Band) Beach Road.

It will not be proper that an account be given in this place of the leading members of Madras society, both European and Indian, who are still living with us; but it may not be out of place to mention among the Madras worthies of the recent past, Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty, the founder of the Justice Party and the first elected President of the Madras Corporation; Sir S. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Sir V. Bashyam Aiyangar and Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar,—all able jurists and publicists—to whom reference has already been made, Dr. T. M. Nair, Mr. Eardley Norton and Sir P. Rajagopalachariar. All these influenced the life of the city in one way or another.

Madras worthies of the recent past

We can end the survey of Madras by making the citizen of 1919 contrast the present condition and appearance of the city with an account of its appearance and activities in 1865—1866, when the Rev. Canon C. E. Sell, who arrived in Madras and found the place a very different thing from what he saw of it in his old age, 63 years later in 1928. This is what he writes of Madras in 1865.

"The city of Madras had a very different aspect sixty-three years ago. There was no harbour and the sea approached near to what was rightly then called the first line beach. What is now known as the Marina bordered close upon the sea. The open roadstead was a dangerous place for ships in cyclonic weather. A few years later on, in a heavy cyclone, some ships that could not get out to sea were driven ashore, and one lay for a long time a total wreck opposite the Senate House. There was no Napier Bridge, and when the Cooum bar was cut, persons from St. Thomé had to proceed to Black Town by Mount Road. The People's Park existed, but there was no Moore Market. The chief market was then held in Black Town. Tramways were unknown, but numerous *jutkas* plied for hire. Ritherdon Road, Vepery, a most useful thoroughfare, had not yet been opened. There was no railway to the north and travellers to

the northern districts had to take passages on coasting steamers to Masulipatam and Cocanada, and proceed inland by canal, by bullock bandy or by palanquins. Many a journey did good Bishop Gell do in this fashion. There was no direct South Indian Railway to Tinnevelly, and so passengers had to journey to Trichinopoly *via* Erode, and then proceed by bullock transit or by country cart if time was no object.

"The ground, an old rampart, now occupied by the Central Station, was an open space. Before my time it was said to have been a favourite resort for the soldiers of the garrison to engage in the pastime of cock-fighting. The neighbourhood known as John Pereira's, now by its more dignified one of Park Town, had a bad reputation. Old inhabitants told me it had been called Hog's Hill.

"Mails from England arrived once a fortnight. The postage was six pence. The mails were landed at Alexandria, sent by rail to Cairo and thence to Suez by carriages drawn by camels. A steamer then brought them round Ceylon to Madras and Calcutta. The journey took six weeks and the fares were high. So for some time to come passage to Europe was taken in sailing vessels.

"There has been a great change in the buildings in Madras. The Eye Hospital, even then justly famous, was located in a building now occupied by the Madras Guards. The Egmore Station occupies the ground on which the Civil Orphan Asylum once stood. An old palace of the late Nawab of the Carnatic had been recently transformed into the present handsome Chepauk Offices. Before the Presidency College was built the classes were held in a house in Egmore, and before the University was founded its successful students were called Proficients. I knew some of the olden men and excellent scholars they were—(Reference has been made to some of them). The University Convocation for the bestowal of degrees was held in the Banqueting Hall, as the Senate House was not then built.

"Mount Road was a much quieter place than it is now, for the principal shops, such as those of Oakes and Co. and others, were in the Broadway, though the shops of Gantz the bookseller, of a famous baker whose name I forget, and a small shop since grown into the large and prosperous firm of Spencer and Co., and some others were then in existence in Mount Road. There was also Waller's important horse-mart, where Australian, Arab and Persian horses were bought and sold. Pegu ponies, splendid little animals. were largely imported. A good pony cost Rs. 300 to 400. A pair of fast-trotting Pegus in a light self-driven phaeton was a very pretty turnout. The premises, now enlarged and occupied by Oakes and Co., belonged to the brothers Frank, the then well-known auctioneers. They were kindly, generous men of the old school and were much respected. They kept to the old world ways. They looked upon envelopes as a modern innovation and folding their letters secured them with a wafer. They lived with their maiden sisters in a beautiful house in Teynampet. They were great supporters of Christ Church, where some years previously their father with his seven children used to worship.

"The offices of the Bible Society and those of the Christian Literature Society were then in Black Town. Many Europeans used to live in the large old houses with their grand staircases; but by my time, they had begun to move out into more salubrious quarters. There are many other changes such as the rebuilding of the S. P. C. K. (now Diocesan) Press, the removal of the Government Press to its present site, the erection of handsome shops in Mount Road and the breaking up of the large compounds, for which Madras was famous and the erection thereon of numerous modern houses and bungalows, and other matters which we need not notice."*

* This account of the appearance of Madras in 1865 conveys a most instructive idea of the changes in the life and landmarks of the City and reminds the reader of the curious old times of our grand-fathers.

Conclusion

The growth of Madras into its present size and proportion has taken place under conditions, both normal and abnormal, that prevailed in the last three centuries. The result is that a number of subsidiary centres besides the heart of the city have been formed in a manner too accidental to be convenient. The Government and administrative buildings are widely scattered, the railway system requires radical adjustment and the population has varied in some places very startlingly, both in density and in types of land occupation. The city is however well provided with parks and play-grounds and open spaces which require proper utilization; and the influence that the city exercises over the surrounding country should be more systematically directed in proper channels than has been the case hitherto. The city, being almost flat, depends for the building up of its beauty on the proper development of buildings, water and trees, Only the last of these has been well exploited in the formation of parks and avenues. We may, however, conclude safely that Madras has grown with less violent contrasts of beauty and ugliness, of wealth and poverty, of fine residential suburbs and slums and *chawls* than other Indian cities; and we may say, that apart from comparison with Bombay and Calcutta which have had considerable external and adventitious aids in their growth, Madras has really become a "queen among cities", fulfilling Kipling's lines about her—[the last portion excepted.]

> " Clive kissed me on the mouth and eyes and brow,
> Wonderful kisses, so that I became
> Crowned above Queens. ...."

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF MADRAS

A.D.	
1522	The Portuguese colonise San Thomé.
Circa 1547	Erection of the Luz Church—Discovery of the famous Bleeding Cross at St. Thomas' Mount.
1565	Visit of Cesare Federici to San Thomé.
1615–1630	Rule of Rama Deva of Chandragiri.
1626	The English obtain Armagon.
1630–1642	Rule of Venkatapathi Raya—Flourishing of the Damarla Brothers, Venkatappa, Ayyappa and Anka Bhupala.
1639	Day voyages to Madraspatam.
1639, Aug. 22nd	The Nayak's grant of Madras to the English.
1640, Feb. 20th	*Day arrives at Madras for settlement.*
1640–43	*Agency of Andrew Cogan.*
1640, April 23rd	Inner part of the first Fort finished; the Fort of Madras named Fort St. George.
1641–42	Day's absence in England.
1641, Sep. 24th	Madras becomes the chief of the English Factories on the east coast under *Cogan.*
1642	Accession of Sriranga Raya—Establishment of the Capuchin Mission at Madras.
1643–44	*Agency of Day.*
1644	The advance of Golconda to the neighbourhood of Madras.
1644–48	*Agency of Thomas Ivie.*
1645	The English resolve to send an embassy to the Raya who regains control of the surrounding district.
1645, September	The Raya's offer to the English of a confirmation of the Nayaks' grant.

A.D.	
1645, Oct.–Nov.	Greenhill's visit to the Raya and the Raya's *cowle* to the English.
1646–47	Advance of Mir Jumla, the general of Golconda and his conquest of the country round Madras; famine in Madras; the English Agent Ivie renders allegiance to Mir Jumla.
1646 and 1648	Earliest recorded gifts made to the Madras Town Temple by Naga Battan and Beri Timmanna.
1648–52	*First Agency of Greenhill.*
1648	Confirmation by Mir Jumla of the privileges of the English at Madras.
1652–55	*Agency of Aaron Baker.*
1652	The first great Right and Left Hand Castes disputes of Madras. Seizure of San Thomé by Golconda.
1655	Madras reduced to the position of a subordinate agency under Surat.
1653	Threatened blockade of Madras by Nawab Neknam Khan, the general of Golconda.
1655–59	*Second administration of Greenhill.*
1657	Seige of Madras on behalf of Mir Jumla.
1658	Mir Jumla's authority in the neighbourhood of Madras replaced by that of Golconda.
	Second attack made on Madras; its blockade by Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak of Gingee and Bala Rao—Agreement between Agent Greenhill and Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak.
1659–62	*Agency of Thomas Chamber.*
1659	The Golconda troops leave the neighbourhood of Madras.
1662–65	*The rule of Sir Edward Winter.*
1665	*The rule of Foxcroft.*
1665, September	The imprisonment of Foxcroft and his supersession by Winter.

A.D.	
1666	The commission of the Directors appointing Foxcroft Governor of Fort St. George reaches Madras.
Sep. 1665 to Aug. 1668	*Usurped rule of Sir Edward Winter.*
1668–1672	*Foxcroft's restored Governorship*—He was the first Agent to be styled Governor.
1670	Blockade of Madras by Nawab Neknam Khan.
1672–78	*Rule of Governor Langhorne;* beginning of the systematic filing and maintenance of the Madras records.
1672	Temporary occupation of San Thomé by the French.
1674	Final surrender of San Thomé into the hands of Golconda.
1675	Destruction of the fortifications of San Thomé.
Circa 1675	Establishment of a regular seniority list among the Company's servants; the Roman Catholics rebuild their church in the Fort.
1676	The English acquisition of Triplicane by a *farman* of the Sultan of Golconda.
1677–78	Sivaji's approach to the neighbourhood of Madras.
1678–81	*Governorship of Streynsham Master.*
1678	Establishment of a Superior Court of Judicature at Madras; Lingappa's quarrel with Master over the rent of Madras.
1678–80	Building of St. Mary's Church in the Fort; foundation stone laid on Lady's Day 1678; Church consecrated on the 28th of October 1680.
1680	The death of Kasi Viranna, Chief Merchant.
1680, December.	Appearance in Madras of the celebrated Newton's Comet.
1681–87	*Rule of Governor Gyfford.*

A.D.	
1682	Embassy of Elihu Yale to Gingee to secure from the Marathas who had occupied the country, permission to settle at Porto Novo and at Cuddalore.
Circa 1683	Creation of a bank in Madras to receive deposits; a joint stock concern of Indian merchants organised.
1684–85	Gyfford's tour of inspection in the Bay when Elihu Yale was in charge of the Administration.
1686	Establishment of a Court of Admiralty at Madras.
1687	A terrible cyclone devastates Madras.
1687–92	*Governorship of Elihu Yale;* hoisting of the Union Jack upon the Fort bastion in the place of the Company's flag.
1687, September	Sir Josiah Child suggests a Corporation for Madras.
1687, December	He sends a ready-drawn Charter for the proposed Corporation.
1688 29th Sep.	Inauguration of the Corporation; instalment of the first Mayor (Higginson) and the Aldermen and the establishment of the Mayor's Court.
1688–90	First settlement of the Armenians in Madras.
1689	The Indian peons of Madras organised into companies.
1690	Madras attacked by a French fleet; the *farman* of Nawab Zulfikar Khan confirming the existing English grants for Madras and other factories.
1692	The English get from Prince Kam Baksh the right to coin rupees in their mint.
1692–98	*Rule of Governor Higginson.*

A.D.	
1693	Acquisition of Egmore, Purasawakam and Tondiarpet (together with Triplicane forming "the four old villages").
1694–95	A new Fort House built in the place of the Inner Citadel now demolished.
1695	Attempt to acquire Vepery.
1697	Complete demolition of the San Thomé fortifications.
1698–1709	*Rule of Governor Thomas Pitt.*
1700–01	Nicolo Manucci sent on an embassy to Nawab Daud Khan at San Thomé.
1702	Blockade of Madras by the Nawab.
1706–08	Further visits of the Nawab to Madras and demands.
1707	The great Castes dispute.
1708	Acquisition of "the five new villages," namely, Tiruvottiyur, Nungambakkam, Vyasarpadi, Kattiwakam and Sattangadu; fortification of Old Black Town.
1709	*The Governorship of Gulston Addison.*
1709	*The Governorship of E. Montague.*
1709–11	*The Governorship of William Fraser.*
1711–17	*The Governorship of Edward Harrison.*
1711	The Mughals resume possession of the "five new villages"—The S.P.C.K. establishes the first printing press at Madras.
1715	The first *pucca* bridge from the Fort to the Island; the building of the Egmore Redoubt.
1715–17	Surman's embassy to Delhi.
1716	Caste disputes revived in Madras. The starting of St. Mary's Charity School.
1717	The grant of the Mughal Emperor for the five new villages secured.
1717–20	*The rule of Governor Collet;* Tiruvottiyur seized by force.

A.D.	
1719	Foundation of Colletpetta.
1720–21	*The rule of Francis Hastings.*
1721	The settlement of weavers in Purasawakam; the actual taking over of the administration of Egmore, Purasawakam and Tondiarpet by the Government.
1721–25	*The rule of Nathaniel Elwick.*
1725–30	*The Governorship of James Macrae.*
Circa 1726	The building of the Marmalong Bridge over the Adyar River at Saidapet by the Armenian merchant, Coja Petrus Uscan.
1727	The Corporation of Madras re-organized under the Royal Charter of 1726.
1729	The exposition of the Grave of St. Thomas at San Thomé.
1730–35	*The rule of Governor Morton Pitt.*
1731	Dismissal of Sunka Rama, Chief Merchant.
1733	Preparation of a map of Madras and its surrounding villages by order of the Governor.
1734	Foundation of Chintadripettah.
1735–44	*The rule of Governor Richard Benyon.*
1741	The English send Peter Uscan as their envoy to the Maratha invader, Raghuji's Bhonsle; Nawab Safdar Ali's family sheltered in Madras—Madras mints the new Star Pagodas.
1742	Proclamation in Madras of Safdar Ali's son as the Nawab on his death; grant to the English of Vepery, Perambur, Pudupakam, Ernavore and Sadayankuppam which formed the third batch of villages to be acquired.
1743–44	Anwaru'd-din Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic.
1744–46	*The rule of Governor Richard Morse.*
August 1745	An English fleet reaches Madras.

A.D.	
3rd to 10th of Sep. 1746	Bombardment of Madras by De La Bourdonnais.
10th Sep. 1746	The capitulation of Madras to the French.
Sep. 1746 to Aug. 1749	Madras remains in French occupation.
1746–52	Fort St. David remains the seat of the Presidency.
Nov. 1746	The battle of the Adyar River near San Thomé between the Nawab's troops and the French.
Aug.-Decr. 1749	*Madras in charge of Boscawen and Lawrence.*
Dec. 1749 to 1752	*Richard Prince, Deputy Governor of Fort St. George under Fort St. David*—Starke, provisional Deputy Governor.
1749	Occupation of San Thomé.
1750	Proposal to fortify Muthialpettah and Peddanaickenpettah constituting the new Black Town.
1750–52	*Thomas Saunders, Governor of Fort St. David.*
Dec. 1751	Clive's return to Madras from the expedition on Arcot.
1752	*Richard Stark—provisional Deputy Governor*—Clive becomes the Steward of Fort St. George.
1752–55	*Thomas Saunders, Governor of Fort St. George.*
April 1752	Madras again becomes the seat of the Presidency.
1752	The remission of the town rent of Madras by Nawab Muhammad Ali.
Feb. 1753	The marriage of Captain Clive with Margaret Maskelyne in the Fort Church.
1754	Robert Orme, the historian, a member of the Council at Madras.

A.D.	
1753	George II's Charter for the revival of the Mayor and Corporation of Madras.
1754	The Nawab's grant of the right of country music to the English.
1755	The survey map of Madras drawn by Conradi.
1755–63	*First Governorship of George Pigot.*
1756–57	Strengthening of the western front of the Fort; demolition of the houses and levelling of the Hoghill on the bank of the North River opposite to the Fort.
1757	Demolition of the old Town Temple in Old Black Town.
1757–58	The building of the north face of the Fort.
Dec. 1758 to Feb. 1759	Siege of Fort St. George by Lally.
Dec. 14, 1758	Draper's engagement in Peddanaickenpettah, China Bazar Road, with the French.
Feb. 9, 1759	Caillaud's battle near St. Thomas' Mount won by the heroism of Yusuf Khan.
Feb. 17, 1759	The French abandon the seige.
1760	Further renovation of the Fort begun; demolition of the tombs in the old English burial ground.
1762	New Town Temple constructed.
1763–67	*Governorship of Robert Palk.*
1767–70	*Governorship of Charles Bourchier.*
1767–72	Further strengthening and reforming of Fort St. George into its present shape.
1767	First raid of Hyder Ali on Madras.
Circa 1768	The construction of the Chepauk Palace for the Nawab.
1769	The second raid on Madras by the Mysore troops.
1770–73	*Governorship of Josias Du Pre.*
1773–75	*Governorship of Alexander Wynch.*

A.D.	
1769–72	The building of the Black Town Walls.—Warren Hastings, Member of Council in Madras.
Circa 1772	Abolition of the office of the Company's Chief Merchant and institution of a Board of Police.
1773	Imprisonment of the Rajah of Tanjore by the English.
1775–76	*Second Governorship of Pigot* (now Lord Pigot).
	Pigot's quarrel with the members of his Council.
Aug. 1776	Imprisonment and supersession of Pigot; his death in prison (May 1777).
1776–77	*Usurped rule of George Stratton.*
1777–78	*Governorship of John Whitehill.*
1777	Vira Perumal Pillai, appointed first kotwal of markets.
1778	Creation of the office of Standing Counsel.
1778–80	*Governorship of Thomas Rumbold.*
1780	Mr. John Whitehill again acting Governor.
1780–81	*Mr. Charles Smith, acting Governor.*
1780	Death of Sir Eyre Coote at Madras.
Circa 1781	Construction of Popham's Broadway; final removal of the mound of Hoghill and formation of the Western Esplanade of the Fort.
1781–85	*Governorship of Lord Macartney.*
1782	Popham's scheme of Police regulation.
1785–86	*Governorship of Alexander Davidson.*
1786–89	*Governorship of Sir Archibald Campbell.*
1786	Starting of the Medical Department under a Physician General; starting of the Madras Post Office and the Charity School of the Reverend Dr. Andrew Bell.
1789–90	*Provisional Governorship of J. Hollond.*

A.D.	
Circa 1790	The first Botanical Garden planted by Dr. Anderson.
1790	*Provisional Governorship of E. J. Hollond.*
1790–92	*Governorship of Sir William Medows;* his suspension of E. J. Hollond who had acted as Governor in the previous year.
1792	Trial of Avadhanam Paupiah for conspiracy.
	Madras gets power to levy municipal taxes.
1792–94	*The Governorship of Sir Charles Oakeley.*
1793	Erection of the Madras Observatory. Building of the Madras Lunatic Asylum.
1794–98	*The Governorship of Lord Hobart.*
1798	The Recorder's Court created; abolition of the old Choultry Court; Sir Thomas Strange, Recorder.
1798	*Acting Governorship of General Harris.*
1798–1803	*The rule of the second Lord Clive.*
1799	Erection of the statue of Lord Cornwallis in Madras. The Marquess Wellesley at Madras; the fall of Seringapatam.
1800	Institution of a press censorship.
1802	The building of the Banqueting Hall.
1803–07	*The Governorship of Lord William Bentinck.*
1806	The Mutiny at Vellore.
1807	*Ag. Governorship of W. Petrie.*
1807–13	*The Governorship of Sir George Barlow.*
1807	Commissioners for the liquidation of the Carnatic Debts.
1809	The threatened White Mutiny.
1812	Creation of the College of the Fort St. George.
1813–14	*The Governorship of Sir John Abercromby.*
1814–20	*The Governorship of the Rt. Hon'ble Hugh Elliott.*
1814–16	Sir Thomas Munro, President of the Judicial Commission; passing of the new Madras Regulations.

A.D.	
1814–16	St. George's Cathedral built.
1817	The starting of the Madras Literary Society.
1818–21	St. Andrew's Kirk built.
1820–27	*Governorship of Sir Thomas Munro.*
1822	Munro's inquiry into the state of education.
1826	Formation of the Board of Public Instruction.
July 1827	*Sir Thomas Munro's death from cholera.*
1827	*Ag. Governorship of H. S. Graeme.*
1827–32	*The Governorship of S. R. Lushington.*
1832	Starting of the Madras Club.
1832–37	*The Governorship of Sir Frederick Adam.*
1834	Starting of the Government Survey School (later the Engineering College).
1835	Starting of the Madras Medical School (subsequently the Medical College).
1837	John Anderson opens the General Assembly's School (subsequently the Madras Christian College).
1837	*Temporary Governorship of Mr. G. E. Russell.*
1837–42	*The Governorship of Lord Elphinstone.*
1840	Ootacamund becomes the summer resort of the Government.
1841	The opening of the High School (subsequently the Presidency College). Re-organization of the Madras mint.
1842	The new Light House erected on the Beach. Opening of the Pachaiyappa's Central Institution (subsequently the Pachaiyappa's College). The starting of the University Board.
1842–48	*The Governorship of the Marquis of Tweeddale.*
1848	*Temporary Governorship of Mr. Dickinson.*
1848–54	*The rule of Sir Henry Pottinger.*
1854	*Mr. D. Eliott, temporary Governor.*
1854–59	*The rule of Lord Harris.*

A.D.	
1854	Creation of the Department of Public Instruction; The Torture Commission appointed.
1855	Abolition of the titular Nawabship of the Carnatic; acquisition of the Chepauk Palace by the Government.
1856	The first railway line opened from Madras to Arcot.
1857	The incorporation of the University of Madras.
1859–60	*The Governorship of Sir Charles Trevelyan.*
1860 & 61	*Temporary Governorship of W. A. Morehead.*
1860	*The Governorship of Sir Henry George Ward.*
1861–63	*Sir William Denison, Governor.*
	The Hon'ble V. Sadagopacharlu, the first Indian Member appointed to the Legislative Council of Madras.
1862, June	The first Charter of the Madras High Court.
	The higher department of the Engineering College opened.
1862	A screw pile pier built.
1863–64	Acting Viceroyalty of Sir William Denison; *acting Governorship of Mr. Maltby.*
1864–65	The Presidency College begun to be built; the Public Works Secretariat also begun.
1866–72	*The Governorship of Lord Napier of Merchistoun.*
1868–72	Protected water-supply for Madras.
1871	The first census of Madras taken.
	Drainage for the city constructed.
1872	*Acting Governorship of Sir A. J. Arbuthnot.*
1872–75	*The Governorship of Lord Hobart.*
1873	Foundation of the Cosmopolitan Club.
1874	The Senate House built.
1875	*The acting Governorship of W. R. Robinson.* Robinson Park formed.

A.D.	
1875–80	*The Governorship of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.*
1876–78	The great Madras famine; construction of the Buckingham Canal through Madras.
1876	The Buckingham Mills opened.
	Construction of the Madras Harbour begun.
1877	The Royapuram Auxiliary Medical School opened.
1878	Starting of the 'Hindu' and the 'Madras Mail.'
1880–81	*The Governorship of W. P. Adam.*
1880	Starting of the 'Swadesamitran.'
1881	*Mr. W. Huddleston, Ag. Governor.*
1881	The Carnatic Mills opened.
1881–86	*The Governorship of Lord Connemara.*
1886–90	*The Governorship of Sir M. E. Grant-Duff.*
1887	The Indian National Congress met at Madras for the first time. The building of the Connemara Public Library and the enlargement of the Museum.
1889	The High Court Buildings begun to be constructed.
1890–91	*Acting Governorship of Mr. J. H. Garstin.*
1891–96	*The Governorship of Lord Wenlock.*
1892	The Madras Legislative Council enlarged.
1894	The Indian National Congress meets in Madras for the second time.
1895	The first tramway line of the city opened.
1896–1901	*The Governorship of Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock.*
1898	Congress holds its session at Madras for the third time.
1900–06	*Governorship of Lord Ampthill.*
1903	The Congress meets in Madras for the fourth time.
1904	*Acting Governorship of Sir James Thompson.*

A.D.	
1905	The Madras Port Trust created. The King Institute of Preventive Medicine opened.
1906	*Sir Gabriel Stokes, Acting Governor.*
	The Asiatic Petroleum Company Ltd., begins its work in Madras.
1906–11	*Governorship of Sir Arthur Lawley.*
1907	The Madras Electric Supply Corporation supplies current to the Corporation.
1907	Starting of the Indian Bank.
1908	The fifth meeting of the Congress at Madras.
1911–12	*The Governorship of Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael.*
1912	*Acting Governorship of Sir Murray Hammick.*
1912–1919	*Lord Pentland's rule.*
1914	University professorships created for the first time.
	The sixth meeting of the Congress at Madras.
	Opening of the new water-works at Kilpauk.—The 'Emden' shells Madras.
1915	The Leather Trades Institute opened.
1916	The Madras Trades School opened. The Women's Christian College opened.
1919	*Acting Governorship of Sir Alexander Cardew.*
1919–1924	*Governorship of Lord Willingdon.*
1920	Dyarchy in the Madras Government; the Justice Party come to power.
	Binny & Co. (Madras) Ltd., incorporated.
1922	The Textile Institute opened.
1924	The School of Indian Medicine established.
1924	*Acting Governorship of Sir Charles Todhunter.*
1924–29	*Governorship of Viscount Goschen.*
1925	The Loyola College opened.
1927	The seventh meeting of the Congress at Madras.
1928	Incorporation of the Burmah Shell.

A.D.	
1929	*Temporary Governorship of Sir Norman Marjoribanks.*
1929–34	*Sir George Stanley's Governorship.*
1932	The Mayor of Madras revived.
1934	*Acting Governorship of Sir Muhammad Usman.*
1934–39	*Governorship of Lord Erskine.*
1936	*Temporary Governorship of Sir K. V. Reddy Naidu.*
	The Victory Memorial opened.
	The New University Buildings completed.
1937	Shifting of the Christian College to Tambaram.
1939, Aug. 4th	Celebration of the Tercentenary of the Foundation of the Madras City.

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CORRECTIONS

p. 174—line 28—*add* 'Abbey' *after* 'Westminster'

p. 267—footnote line 1—*read* 'rations' *for* 'relations'

p. 291—line 17—*for* 'res4pectively' *read* 'respectively'

p. 303—line 22—*add* 'was' *after* 'Madras'

p. 304—line 15—*read* 'or' *for* 'of'

p. 312—line 6—*read* 1836 *for* 1936

p. 320—line 33—*read* 'Dhinamani' *for* 'Tamil Nadu'

p. 323—line 2—*add* 'session' *after* 'successful'

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